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# ***Daily Report***

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-91-052  
Monday  
18 March 1991

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

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18 March 1991

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## Central African Republic

### President Appoints Franck New Prime Minister

AB1503184891 Bangui Domestic Service  
in French 1800 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Presidential decree No. 91076 appointing the prime minister, issued in Bangui on 15 March; read by Secretary of State Christian Bernard Yamane—recorded]

[Text] The president of the Republic and head of state, in accordance with the 28 November 1986 Constitution, in accordance with Law No. 91001 of 8 March 1991 on the revision of the Constitution, decrees:

Article 1: Mr. Edouard Franck is appointed prime minister and head of the government.

Article 2: The present decree, which takes effect from the date of its signature, will be registered and published in the official gazettes.

## Gabon

### Assembly Adopts New Constitution, Party Charter

AB1603060091 Libreville Africa No. 1  
in French 1830 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] In Gabon yesterday afternoon, the National Assembly chaired by Jules Bourdes Ogouliguende adopted the final text of the Constitution and a charter of the parties. The two texts were unanimously adopted by the parliamentarians of the opposition and of the majority.

The new Constitution confirms a semi-presidential regime and guarantees individual and public liberties. It also provides for the creation of a constitutional court charged mainly with checking the constitutionality of laws and the regularity of electoral exercises.

As for the charter of the parties, it confirms the existence of the parties already represented within the National Assembly and states the conditions for founding parties in a very liberal spirit. It provides particularly that the Gabonese state will contribute to financing the parties.

### Speaker, Opposition View Constitution

AB1703190891 Libreville Africa No. 1  
in French 1830 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] In Gabon yesterday, the National Assembly approved the Charter on Political Parties and the final text of the new constitution. One rare fact that must be underlined is that the two texts were unanimously approved by the members of Parliament belonging to both the government majority and the opposition, a vote which shows the spirit of consensus that has prevailed during the four weeks of working meetings of the constitutional session. The speaker of the Gabonese National

Assembly, Jules Bourdes Ogouliguende, sheds more light on this new definitive Gabonese constitution:

[Begin Ogouliguende recording] Our current constitution has addressed the concern of ensuring a serious balance of power between the powers of the president of the Republic, the powers of the prime minister and those of the cabinet, the powers of the National Assembly, the confirmation of judiciary powers, as well as the introduction of what is called the National Council of Communication, which is a new institution provided for by our constitution.

In addition to providing the classic institutions, we had the further concern of really ensuring a new balance of power. It can really be felt in the new Constitution that the powers of the president of the Republic have been clearly spelled out, as have also the powers of the prime minister, and it can no longer be said now that the prime minister of the Gabonese Republic has no powers. He has them, and with his cabinet, he will have the possibility of conducting, in line with the constitution, the management of the country, as should be the case.

I think that the National Assembly's check over state management, which is the government's responsibility, will occur in the well-defined framework of the rebalancing of powers. As you will see, the National Assembly has in the Constitution not only the right to ask the government questions at any time regarding the procedure of arrests and detentions, but it also wields what is called the right to set up investigations and control commissions on the way the state is being managed. And when things appear really disastrous to it—when the situation appears to be disastrous—it will then demand explanations from the government, which may result in a sanction that is precisely called censure. Censure, as you know, leads necessarily to the cabinet's resignations. [end recording]

That was the speaker of the Gabonese National Assembly, Jules Bourdes Ogouliguende. The chairman of the Gabonese Progress Party, which is a Gabonese opposition party, Counsellor Agondjo Ogawe, has also reacted to the adoption of the texts of the new constitution. He answered questions put to him by Jeremie Nzamba of our editorial board. Counsellor Agondjo Okawe is satisfied with the work accomplished by the Gabonese Democratic Party [PDG], which holds the majority in the National Assembly, and the opposition parties:

[Begin Okawe recording] I think it is the result primarily of the working method adopted, because there were two work methods: The first method involves making the PDG apply the rule of the majority when we come to a deadlock. And I think that if the PDG had adopted that method of work, it is certain that the constitution would not have been unanimously adopted and may not even have been approved. This is because the constitution, as with any amendment to the constitution, must be

approved by a two-thirds majority. And yet the PDG does not have this two-thirds majority. [end recording]

## Zaire

### Rwandan Government, Rebels Meet in Kinshasa

#### To Sign Accord

AB1703210591 Paris AFP in English 2050 GMT  
17 Mar 91

[Text] Brussels, March 17 (AFP)—Representatives of Rwanda's government and the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front will meet in Kinshasa Monday to sign an agreement setting out their intention to observe a ceasefire, the official Zairian news agency AZAP reported Sunday. The AZAP report, carried by the Belgian news agency BELGA, said agreement to sign the document came at a meeting between the two sides Saturday aboard a boat off Nsele, about 40 kilometres (about 25 miles) from the Zairian capital.

Quoting well informed sources, it said the ceasefire proper could be signed within a few days of signature of the documents of intent.

The government delegation at the Nsele meeting was headed by Claver Kanyarushoki, Rwanda's ambassador to Uganda, and the front's delegation by Pastor Bizimungu, AZAP said.

#### Further on Appointment of New Prime Minister

EA1603143891 Lubumbashi Domestic Service  
in French 0430 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, the president of the Republic, yesterday appointed [words indistinct] Professor Mulumba Lukoji the [word indistinct] of the new government, after the resignation two days ago of Lunda Bululu's team at the request of the head of state. [Words indistinct] is a jurist who has a very long experience in economic and financial [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

It is believed that by (?appointing) a personality of the calibre of Prof. Mulumba Lukoji, the head of state (?wanted) to respond to the fundamental concern expressed at all levels by various gallant forces of the nation which he has had to face in recent days. Concern has been raised by the particularly difficult economic and social situation through which the country is going. One of the main tasks the new team will have to embark

on will be economic redress, the cleansing of public finances, and tackling inflation.

Having accepted the new job, Prof. Mulumba Lukoji, who is currently abroad, will return to Zaire in the next 48 hours to resolutely embark on the work. [passage omitted]

#### Biography Given

AB1603155091 Dakar PANA in French 1841 GMT  
15 Mar 91

[Text] Kinshasa, 15 Mar (AZAP/PANA)—Professor Mulumba Kukoji, who was today appointed Zaire's prime minister by President Mobutu Sese Seko, was born at Kipushi, Shaba (southeastern Zaire) on 5 March 1943. He studied humanities at the little seminary in Mwere and at Karavia College near Lubumbashi before pursuing his studies at Lovanium University in Kinshasa, where he obtained a degree in law in 1967.

After obtaining his Masters Degree at Columbia University in the United States and a doctorate in financial law at the University of Kinshasa, he became a lecturer at the Faculty of Law at Lovanium University.

Between February and July 1977, he joined the Zairian Ministry of Planning, where he occupied the post of director general. He later occupied various ministerial posts in 1979 (minister of planning), minister of housing (from March 1979 to January 1980), and minister of finance (from January 1980 to February 1981).

After disappearing for three years, he returned to the government in 1984 as the minister of planning. He is the current chairman of the 10th Conference of African Ministers of Planning and Finance at the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, a post that he had also occupied from 1977 to 1979.

After leaving the government again on 5 July 1985, he headed the Fiscal Studies Department of the Zairian Minerals Company, conducted studies on projects evaluation for the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and supervised compilation of the document for the Rwandan development plan fund donors' round-table conference.

He has been the editor in chief of the monthly magazine "ZAIRE AFRIQUE" since 1967 and has written several publications, including: "States' Inheritance of the Former Belgian Congo's Patrimonial Rights: Public Debt and Parastatals", P.U.Z. [expansion unknown], Kinshasa, 1979, and: "The Mineral Industry and Development in Zaire."

## Ethiopia

### Mengistu Regime Reportedly 'About To Fall'

TA1603180091 Jerusalem Domestic Service  
in Hebrew 1600 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] There has been an increase in reports that the regime of Colonel Mengistu, the leader of Ethiopia, is about to fall because of pressure by the four rebel organizations fighting against him.

Our correspondent in Scandinavia, Eliyahu Zahavi, reports that the Swedish Government called on its nationals in Ethiopia yesterday evening to leave the country as soon as possible.

The EC institutions are also currently debating whether to issue a similar advisory to their citizens, but as there is some hesitation on this matter, several EC members are about to issue their own appeals.

The European HERALD TRIBUNE has painted a bleak picture of the state of the Ethiopian Army, and the BBC has reported fighting between the rebels and army forces in the suburbs of the capital Addis Ababa. Various sources report that approximately 120,000 government troops are besieged in Asmara and that their situation is extremely difficult. The rebels have also stepped up pressure on (Asab), the only port still under Mengistu's control.

The Ethiopian ruler's coffers are almost totally bereft of foreign currency, the reports said.

### Addis Ababa 'Calm'

AB1603182091 Paris AFP in French 1627 GMT  
16 Mar 91

[Text] Addis Ababa, 16 Mar(AFP)—Families of diplomats accredited to Addis Ababa have begun to leave the country because of fighting taking place in northern Ethiopia, it was learned today from diplomatic sources in the capital. Eighteen Americans have already left Addis Ababa, where the situation remained calm today, and 22 others were getting ready to leave over the weekend, according to U.S. diplomatic sources.

The United States Government, however, has not ordered its nationals to evacuate Ethiopia, but has only "advised" families of diplomats, these sources indicated. Nationals from the European Economic Community, some 20 of whom have already left Ethiopia, were given the same "advice", diplomatic sources pointed out.

### Situation 'Critical'

TA1703081491 Jerusalem Domestic Service  
in Hebrew 0800 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Ethiopian television has admitted that the situation in the country is critical due to the coordinated offensive staged by the opposition organizations trying to overthrow the government.

Our monitor Mikha'el Gurdus has monitored a broadcast reporting on fighting throughout Ethiopia and the enlisting of students and university lecturers for the army and militia. The broadcast noted that government troops repelled a large offensive of the (Sha'bia) and (Muyani) groups in lower Ethiopia. It added that the attackers sustained heavy casualties, and that large quantities of weapons, including missiles and artillery pieces, had been taken as booty. The report did not mention how far the rebel groups are from Addis Ababa.

### Spokesman Explains Halt in Emigration to Israel

EA1603191491 London BBC World Service  
in English 1830 GMT 15 Mar 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The Ethiopian Government has been trying to put the record straight over the emigration of Ethiopian Jews, or Falashas, to Israel. After several months of regular flights to and from Israel, the exercise suddenly stopped, and stories started circulating in the international media that Ethiopia was demanding arms from Israel in return for the resumption of the Falashas' emigration program. Well, (Abraham Festaher) has been speaking to the Ethiopian authorities about the stoppage of flights and he telexed us this report from Addis Ababa:

[Begin studio announcer recording] A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Addis Ababa has admitted that a program to unite Falashas with their relatives in Israel has been halted by his government. But the spokesman categorically refuted allegations that this was done in order to get arms from Israel. He said the program has been suspended because of what he called deliberate irregularities in the processing of applications by individuals.

The spokesman pointed out that in accordance with an agreement reached between Ethiopia and Israel, Falashas who were residing in Israel had to fill in application forms to enable their relatives in Ethiopia to join them. These application forms have to be completed in both countries and then processed and approved in Addis Ababa. He said allegations made in the international media concerning arms from Israel were untrue. The program had to be halted because people were attempting to secure undue advantage from the program and had, in his words, violated the principles under which the program had been agreed upon.

The government had to make sure that only members of the Falasha community had the right to join their families in Israel. He accused agencies and individuals involved in the program of being responsible for these irregularities. He did not name them. The program, he said, will resume as soon as the problem has been sorted out.

I contacted two elderly Falashas who were waiting to join their families in Israel. They told me they have been waiting for almost a year to go to Israel. When I asked



them if they knew of any irregularities, they said, and I quote: We are illiterate, we cannot tell you that. What we know is that the program is not going ahead.

The Israeli Embassy in Addis Ababa refused to comment. However, thousands of Falashas are still wandering around the embassy, hoping to join their relatives in Israel. [end recording]

### Emigration To Resume

TA1703200791 Jerusalem Israel Television  
Network in Hebrew 1900 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Sources in Jerusalem expect the immigration of Jews from Ethiopia to resume over the next few days after intensive contacts were held with the authorities in Addis Ababa. At the same time, there has been an increase in reports about the growing distress of the regime of Mengistu Haile-Mariam.

Thousands of people were reported killed in the fighting in northern Ethiopia and the rebels have apparently made some gains. Here is a recording made of the Ethiopian English news broadcast, prepared by our monitor Mikha'el Gurdus. This is a one-sided announcement by the authorities regarding the military situation. We apologize for the poor quality of the recording.

[Begin recording in English; video shows announcer reading news] Coordinated offensives mounted on diverse fronts recently by the so-called (Shabiyyah) and (Weyani) groups in south (Weylo) Administrative Region, were effectively repulsed by the Revolutionary Army and the People's Militia. The Regional Revolutionary Campaign Center announced today that the Third Revolutionary Army and the local militia units, aided by the people in the area, threw back the attack which the antiunity forces had launched with the support of tanks and artillery. The center said large numbers of the enemy were killed or captured as a result of the prompt and decisive measures taken by the regular and militia forces. According to the center, large quantities of weapons and ammunition were captured, including B-10 antimissiles, launchers, mortars, and heavy and light artillery pieces. The People's Militia in north (Weylo) Administrative Region meanwhile captured 28 bandits and various kinds of artillery during counteroffensives mounted along the (Wuj'ali) front. The Revolutionary Campaign Center reported the struggle to thwart the joint offensives launched by the self-styled (Shabiyyah) and (Weyani) groups is also being intensified in Gojam and Gonder regions.

Meanwhile students up and down the country continue to formally lodge requests to be armed and trained in preparation for front line service in the fight against the so-called EPLF and (Weyani) groups. Joined by teachers and other staff, university and secondary school students in the various autonomous and administrative regions have been making the requests following discussions and briefings on the critical situation which has followed as a result of the coordinated offensive mounted by the

separatist and terrorist bandit groups across vast stretches of the country. [end recording]

### Students Request Military Training, Service

EA1603110891 Addis Ababa in English to  
Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Massive preparations continue to be organized in Ethiopia to mobilize local forces for reinforcing the regular army and the People's Militia to thwart the EPLF [Eritrean People's Liberation Front]-weyane [Tigray People's Liberation Front] threat to the sovereign integrity of the country. Students and staff of the Alemaya University of Agriculture yesterday requested that they be given facilities for the military training and be armed for active service on the war front. They also demanded that the foreign circles which funnel material and moral support to the secessionist and terrorist bandit groups desist from continuing to do so.

Comrade Major General Wubishet Dese, member of the Central Committee of the WPE [Workers Party of Ethiopia] and head of the Zone Six Revolutionary Campaign Center, said when addressing the gathering that the request made by the students was appropriate and will be considered accordingly. The president of the Alemaya University of Agriculture, Comrade Dr. Dejene Makonen, noted on his part that the separatist threat is grave indeed and every genuine citizen should live up to the challenge.

Students and teachers of the Ambo Junior Agricultural College made a similar request and said steps will be taken to flush subversive elements from among them as a matter of urgency. [passage omitted]

### Ask To Be Deployed Against Rebels

EA1603213691

[Editorial Report] Addis Ababa Domestic Service at 1700 GMT on 16 March carries approximately 15 minutes of reports dealing with requests and demands by Ethiopians to be sent to the war fronts to combat the offensives of the Weyane, or Tigray People's Liberation Front, and the Shabiyyah, or the Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

The radio states that Asmera University students have demanded that they "be given military training and be armed to defend the unity of the country and preserve peace among the people by fighting against the Weyane and Shabiyyah groups." It also reported that students from Arba Minch Water Technology Institute, secondary school, and technical school, all in Arba Minch in southwest Ethiopia, have asked "to be deployed to the war front alongside the revolutionary army and people's militia to wipe out the bandits." Residents of autonomous Ogaden have also asked "to be deployed to defend the motherland against the Weyane and Shabiyyah offensive." According to a similar report, party and government officials, people, and elders in Borena

Administrative Area in southern Ethiopia have put forward the same demand: to be permitted "to defend the motherland."

### **1,780 Government Casualties in Tigray Reported**

*EA1503175091 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 1500 GMT 15 Mar 91*

[Excerpt] The enemy force attempting to move into Adwa [northern Tigray] from Adi Quala has been destroyed and repulsed by the heroic Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] and Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] combatants. The force fled in disarray, losing more than 1,780 soldiers, of whom 900 were killed and 870 wounded. Another 12 enemy soldiers were captured. The enemy also lost 200 light and medium weapons. [passage omitted]

### **Rebels 'Annihilated' 2 Army Divisions in Gojam**

*EA1703113691 (Clandestine) Voice of the Ethiopian People for Peace, Democracy, and Freedom in Amharic 0400 GMT 17 Mar 91*

[Text] The heroic Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] People's Army has completely annihilated two Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] army divisions, which crossed from Welega and attempted to gain control of Gojam.

It will be recalled that in its offensive against the WPE's army, which crossed through Welega and attempted to gain control of Gojam, the heroic EPRDF People Army completely annihilated the enemy 31st Army Division and registered a considerable victory.

Continuing its offensive, our heroic People's Army totally annihilated the new army division known as the 201st Airborne Division, together with its rearguard, the 30th Army Division, on 13 March. In this brilliant victory, 4,600 enemy soldiers were killed or wounded, 3,200 were captured, and the rest were routed. Moreover, the heroic EPRDF People's Army captured more than 4,000 light and medium guns. Five tanks were also captured and two were burned. Two BM launchers were captured and one was destroyed. Three 122 mm launchers were captured. Four ZU-23 anti-aircraft guns were captured and four burned. Two 37 mm anti-aircraft guns were captured while one 37 mm anti-aircraft gun and one (?BCR) tank were burned. Moreover, 30 vehicles of various types were captured with a large quantity of ammunition and rations, while 12 vehicles of various types were destroyed.

### **Rebel Offensive Repulsed in Southern Welo**

*EA1603193291 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic 1700 GMT 16 Mar 91*

[Text] The Revolutionary Army and people's militia forces have during the week repulsed the concerted offensive opened by the Shabiyyah [Eritrean People's

Liberation Front] and Weyane [Tigray People's Liberation Front] against us on different fronts of the southern Welo Administrative Area.

According to a report from the southern Welo Administrative Area Revolutionary Campaign Center released today, the 3d Revolutionary Army and members of the people's militia, in collaboration with the people of the area, have managed to repulse the offensive opened by the anti-unity groups, who were supported by tanks and heavy artillery. The Campaign Center also revealed that many bandits have been destroyed and many others captured thanks to the swift and decisive steps taken by the Revolutionary Army and people's militia forces. Various heavy artillery and group and individual weapons used by the bandits were captured, among them B-10 anti-tank weapons, mortars, launchers, heavy and light machineguns, and an assortment of assault rifles.

It was also revealed that in an ambush carried out by members of the people's militia in northern Welo Administrative Area in and around the area of Wuchale, the militia members managed to kill numerous bandits and capture 23 bandits with an assortment of heavy and medium weapons, according to the Campaign Center.

It was also learned that the struggle to repulse the offensive opened by the Shabiyyah and Weyane with the aim of dismembering Ethiopia continues in Welo, Gojam, and Gonder.

### **Gonder Residents Hold Democratic Meeting**

*EA1603130091 (Clandestine) Voice of the Ethiopian People for Peace, Democracy, and Freedom in Amharic 0400 GMT 15 Mar 91*

[Excerpt] Residents of Gonder town, who have been freed by the Tewodros Campaign, have held their first democratic meeting in history. In the meeting, 10 March, more than 20,000 people participated, and the opening speech of congratulations was delivered by the struggling comrades of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF].

The people, who have been liberated from fascistic oppression, expressed their happiness with warm applause in response. Moreover, briefings were given on the EPRDF's stance on political power, peace, the self-determination of nations and nationalities, Eritrea, democracy, and the peaceful transition. In addition, briefings were given on notices released by the EPRDF's General Council on security and social services in EPRDF liberated towns, and also on the efforts to be made by the EPRDF to resume light, water, medical [word indistinct] in Gonder town. [passage omitted]

**Gonder, Gojam Residents Demonstrate Against TPLF**

EA1703165091 (Clandestine) Voice of Ethiopia on the Path to Democracy in Amharic 0400 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Excerpts] It has been learned that an anti-Weyane [Tigray People's Liberation Front, TPLF] demonstration has been held by the residents of [name indistinct] town. Residents of towns in Gonder and Gojam and their environs are expressing their opposition to the Weyane's capturing of the towns, even at meetings called by the Weyane, and are revealing their dissatisfaction and bitterness in various ways. In some places, they have gone to the extent of holding demonstrations and forcefully opposing the attempts of the Weyane and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front to (?halt) them.

Among many such examples, one is the anti-Weyane and [word indistinct] riot begun by students last Sunday, 10 March, in Chagne Town [Gojam region] at which [word indistinct] to the Shabiyyah [Eritrean People's Liberation Front] was carried out. Though the demonstration was started by students, most of the town's residents participated in the anti-Weyane demonstration, as we learned from the students who took part. Among the slogans chanted by the demonstrating residents of the town were: [words indistinct] the Weyane will not splinter Ethiopia; The Weyane and the Shabiyyah are [word indistinct] of the country; we oppose those who are armed with donations and claim they struggle for Ethiopia; Let our arrested brothers be released immediately. [passage omitted]

Though the Weyane attempted to put a stop to it, the residents continued without obeying their orders, and between 100 and (?500) people were arrested. [passage omitted]

**TPLF's 'Arrogant Act of War' Cited**

EA1703160591 (Clandestine) Voice of Ethiopia on the Path to Democracy in Amharic 0400 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Public meetings have continued throughout the liberated territory. A group from the Agitation and Propaganda Committee elected in Tewodros town [Gonder region] known as the [word indistinct] of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party [EPRP] in the north is currently touring and carrying out its mission in the districts. In the meeting called in [word indistinct] in Metekel Province [Gojam region] in late Yekatit [February-March], representatives of mass organizations from various areas participated and the meeting was conducted in a warm atmosphere. [passage omitted]

The agitating group also conducted a similar public meeting in Quara [Tewodros town] on the same mission and held exhaustive discussions on (?the calling of the congress) as adopted in Tewodros town, the current situation, and the role of the broad masses. The people put forward constructive ideas at the meeting; they

bitterly condemned the conspiracy against the country and the unity of the people, as well as the Weyane's [Tigray People's Liberation Front] arrogant act of war, and expressed their readiness to defend the achievements of their struggle while supporting the struggle for democratic and peaceful solutions (?to the problems). [passage omitted]

**Anti-EPRP Demonstration Reported in Sekota**

EA1803142491 (Clandestine) Voice of the Ethiopian People for Peace, Democracy, and Freedom in Amharic 0400 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Residents of Sekota town in Wag Province [Welo region] have held a huge public demonstration supporting the victories achieved by the Tewodros campaign and condemning the belligerency of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party [EPRP]. More than 3,000 residents took part in the colorful demonstration in Sekota town, expressing their zeal and determination to struggle.

The aim of the demonstration was to support the victories of the Tewodros campaign, condemn the EPRP's belligerency and conspiracy, and commemorate the 16th anniversary of the Tigray People's Liberation Front's formation. While appreciating the victories achieved by the heroic Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] popular army in its Tewodros Campaign, the demonstrators bitterly condemned the belligerency of the EPRP. [passage omitted]

**EPRDF Assures Government Examiners' Security**

EA1703204291 (Clandestine) Voice of the Ethiopian People for Peace, Democracy, and Freedom in Amharic 0400 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Statement by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, EPRDF, General Council, issued 16 March; place not given]

[Text] It has been learned that the ESLCE [Ethiopian Schools Leaving Certificate Examinations] will be conducted on 20 March 1991. If the Dergue sends examiners to Gonder and Gojam by helicopter to enable them to conduct this year's examinations, the EPRDF will give assurances of security for both the examiners and their means of transport and it will provide all necessary facilities so that the examinations may be carried out correctly and in a proper way. It is expected that the Dergue will act in line with this plan proposed by the EPRDF to conduct the examinations in Gonder and Gojam if the Dergue is concerned for the students.



### **EPRDF Presents Program, Policies in Seminars**

*EA1503230491 (Clandestine) Voice of the Ethiopian People for Peace, Democracy, and Freedom in Amharic 0400 GMT 15 Mar 91*

[Excerpt] Several seminars have been held in the town of Adis Zemen [Gonder region], recently liberated by the Tewodros campaign. The seminars, which were conducted from 5 to 13 March, were attended by over 600 workers from various departments of the government, over 100 laborers, over 30 weavers, and over 170 businessmen from the town. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front's [EPRDF] revolutionary democratic program, its transitional program, and the policies to be followed in the newly liberated territory were presented at the seminars, in which details were given and democratic discussions were held. [passage omitted]

### **OLA, PDF Forces Attack Gidami Town 11 Mar**

*EA1603130691 (Clandestine) Voice of Oromo Liberation in Oromo 1000 GMT 14 Mar 91*

[Excerpts] Gidami Province, western Oromia: The Oromo Liberation Army [OLA] and the People's Defense Force [PDF], the freedom fighters of the Oromo nation, have continued their joint defensive and offensive actions against the enemy. In this respect, the OLA and PDF punished the enemy army which came out to rob our people on 10 March 1991, putting 70 soldiers out of action and dispersing the rest. As soon as the two battalions of the enemy army were deployed to rob our people, the heroic OLA and the PDF opened fire on it, killed 30 soldiers and wounded 40 others. The enemy force was deployed from the town of Gidami to rob the people, as is its usual habit, and was beaten at (?Sachikemiche) and (?Bori) at (Qambari) River. The fighting took place between 1930 and 2330.

On the same day, the heroic OLA and the PDF opened fire on Gidami town, at 2130, and controlled the position, killing 10 enemy soldiers and wounding 12 others in the fighting. The OLA and the PDF withdrew from the town after completing their joint mission.

Moreover, the enemy was beaten on 11 March 1991 at [placename indistinct]. Out of the enemy force deployed to rob our people, the OLA and the PDF killed 20 soldiers and wounded 17 others. On same day, the OLA and the PDF punished the fascist force at (Manamo), killing 45 soldiers and wounding 55 others. [passage omitted]

The OLA and the PDF have continued punishing the enemy force deployed to rob the people at (Manamo), killing 16 soldiers, wounding 20 others, and dispersing the rest. [passage omitted]

### **Say WPE Coercing Youth**

*EA1803141091 (Clandestine) Voice of Oromo Liberation in Oromo 1700 GMT 17 Mar 91*

[Excerpt] Mana-Sibu Province, western Oromia [western Ethiopia]—The antipeople oppressive government, which wants to keep itself in power by using the sons of the oppressed people, has intensified its pressing into service of Oromo youngsters in many places, sending them to the war which they do not believe in. Recently the main duty of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] members has been to press into service and send Oromo sons to the war.

In this respect, a battalion of enslaving Amhara colonial government soldiers who were travelling with coerced Oromo sons were punished by the Oromo Liberation Front and the armed People's Defense Force between (?Begowa) and (?Tayba). The Oromo sons were freed and returned to their villages after the enemy force was punished and dispersed on 14 March 1991. [passage omitted]

### **Say 2 'Concentration' Camps Destroyed**

*EA1803141891 (Clandestine) Voice of Oromo Liberation in Oromo 1700 GMT 17 Mar 91*

[Excerpt] Combatants of the Oromo Liberation Front operating in Habro Province [Harerge region, eastern Ethiopia] have freed our people who had been displaced from their farms against their will and confined to one place for control and exploitation by the enemy. On 4 March 1991 our fighters destroyed two enemy concentration [villagization] camps consisting of 4,000 houses and freed the people to go to any place of their choice. [passage omitted]

**De Klerk Pledges Support for Angolan Independence***MB1503163491 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1626 GMT 15 Mar 91*

[Text] Cape Town March 15 SAPA—President F.W. de Klerk told Angolans on Friday South Africa would promote the attainment of peace and reconciliation in the war-ravaged country.

President de Klerk made the pledge in a message delivered on his behalf by a Foreign Affairs official at the Seventh Congress of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] at Jamba, the Angolan bush headquarters of the rebel movement. He told rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, "You and other leaders can count on the support of South Africa in achieving peace and reconciliation in your country."

The remarks, received by SAPA in Cape Town, were delivered by Mr Rusty Evans, deputy director general of foreign affairs.

"A watershed has been reached with the prospect of peace and reconciliation in Angola now a realistic and attainable goal," President de Klerk said. He referred to the radical change in Eastern Europe and said the transformation "gives us in Africa the opportunity to discard the worn-out concepts and ideologies of the past". "This change holds immense promise not only for a peaceful solution to the political problems faced by (Angola) for so many years, but also for future economic growth," President de Klerk said.

He told the congress UNITA, which has waged a guerrilla war since 1975, would play an important role in "bringing about a democratic Angola." "Now UNITA at last can look forward to the prospect of participation in free and fair elections and a southern Africa free of foreign interference," President de Klerk said. "Our future in southern Africa will be determined by the peoples of the region themselves," he added.

**Inkatha Letter on SADF/SAP 'Brutality'***MB1603130691 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1235 GMT 16 Mar 91*

[SAPA PR Wire Service. Issued by: Office of the President of the Inkatha Freedom Party: "Inkatha letter addressed to Mr Vlok, from Themba Khoza. 16 March 1991"]

[Text] To: The Hon. Mr A. Vlok, minister of law and order.

From: Themba Khoza, Transvaal youth leader, IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party]

With ref: Actions of black members of the SADF [South African Defense Force]/SAP [South African Police] in Alexandra

I wish to express the grave concerns of members of the Inkatha Freedom Party in Alexandra with regard to the

actions of certain black members of the SADF operating in the area. They have been attacking harassing IFP members and openly denigrating the president of the IFP, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in some cases threatening to "kill" him should he ever "set foot" in Alexandra. Many of our members in the hostel have been witness to this.

Furthermore, some members of the SADF present there have declared that they are supporters of the African National Congress [ANC] and have told our members that they intend to "deal" with the IFP. We believe this behaviour is totally unacceptable and can only exacerbate present tensions. We want these people removed forthwith.

Should you care to investigate my allegations, as I request that you do, I can provide witnesses who can substantiate facts in this report and identify the SADF members concerned.

Last night (March 15) at about 10.30 PM a raid took place at the Alexandra hostel. Doors were smashed and broken by the SADF and SAP. Property was destroyed. Various sums of money were stolen. Our members were forced to undress and lie down, some naked and others in their underpants. The black members of the SADF were treading/walking over our people in their beds. Some were hit with gun barrels. They said they were attacking our people because they alleged they had killed Xhosas. Personal cultural possessions were confiscated.

There have been other instances where our members have been physically harmed by the SADF. We also have witnesses to substantiate the following allegations:

(1) On Sunday March 9, 1991, Mr Thokozani Mbatha was shot in the arm by a member of the SADF. He is still in hospital.

(2) On March 12, 1991 Mr Bonokwakhe Mbele was shot and killed by a member of the SADF.

(3) On Sunday March 9, 1991 at approximately 2000 hours I witnessed SADF brutality against IFP members.

Various IFP people were being roughly body searched. A red band found in the pocket of one man who was then savagely kicked by four black soldiers. When I tried to intervene, as they were pounding him on the road, I was forced at gun point to go back to my car. Otherwise, they said, they would shoot me. A number of black SADF members are Xhosa speaking and others are Sotho speaking. As the conflict in Alexandra is said by some to be between Zulus and Xhosas, it has become clear to us that various non-Zulu SADF persons are discriminating against Zulu hostel dwellers.

The IFP wants peace in the township. We are doing our best to appeal to all concerned to act responsibly. We see a fair and impartial police and SADF presence as being constructive and of benefit to residents at this time.

Regrettably certain SADF/SAP members are seen as being not fit to wear the uniforms they do and as a result they bring shame on themselves and their colleagues.

If what I have described continues, it has become clear to us that many people will lose all trust and respect in forces of law and order. The violence must stop all-round.

Could you please give this matter your urgent attention.

Signed Themba Khoza

### Police Deny Allegations

MB1603174291 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in Afrikaans 1600 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Excerpts] The Inkatha Freedom Party says an official complaint is to be lodged with the minister of law and order over what it calls the brutal manner in which last night's raid on hostels in Alexandra were carried out. [passage omitted]

A spokesman for the police was unable to confirm whether the minister has received the complaint. The spokesman denied that only the hostels, and not other houses in the township, were searched.

The spokesman added that during the past week the police had searched a number of other problem areas in the township, including squatter camps. In several instances the police were fired on and stoned from the hostels. Hostel residents refused to hand over their weapons voluntarily, and the police decided to search the hostels for weapons.

The police also denied that hostel residents were forced to lie naked on the floor. He said when the police entered the hostels they found residents sleeping on the floor, some of them clad only in their underwear. Some of them had tried to flee to the squatter camps.

The spokesman said the police are not aware that anyone was badly treated or that property was stolen or damaged. Some property was, however, confiscated, and this was handed in at the Alexandra police station, pending further investigations.

Anyone who felt he had a grievance was advised to lodge a complaint with the police.

### Minister Willing To Discuss Charges

MB1603202891 Johannesburg SABA in English  
2015 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Johannesburg March 16 SABA—Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said he was prepared to meet Inkatha leaders in connection with allegations black members of the SADF [South African Defense Force] and SAP [South African Police] were biased and attacked IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] members during operations in Alexandra township.

"I have taken note of the representations and requests of Inkatha Freedom Party. The IFP is most welcome to discuss the issue with me. "I make myself fully available for such discussions, as I have done in the past," he said in a statement.

Inkatha youth leader Themba Khoza has written a letter to the minister detailing the allegations. He claimed in his letter the SADF and SAP members had openly declared support for the ANC [African National Congress].

### CP Reacts to Government Proposals on Land Reform

MB1503102791 Johannesburg SABA in English  
0837 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Cape Town March 15 SABA—The government's proposals on land reform left the white nation with no choice but to rise up in the struggle to defend its living space and freedom with the necessary means, the leader of the Conservative Party [CP], Dr Andries Treurnicht, said on Friday [15 Mar].

"Our people are prepared to sacrifice their lives for these rights," he said in a prepared statement read out at a press conference.

Speaking to reporters afterwards, he said he would not elaborate on the statement at this stage. Asked whether his announcement was not an allusion to the use of violence, he said: "You are going further than the words (of the statement)."

The statement, drawn up after a special CP caucus meeting yesterday, was read out by Dr Treurnicht from a lectern with all the party's MPs [members of parliament] standing in a solemn semi-circle behind him. He said that as the representative of the majority of the white nation, the CP realised that the government's decision on land reform had "plunged us into a struggle for our freedom". This struggle had now taken on a serious and deeper dimension.

"The government's intended action will destroy the economic and social order of South Africa. It will destroy each nation's community life, and friction will disrupt neighbourhood and community relations. "Our people cannot, and will not, submit to this. "The revolutionary forces will not be satisfied with the odd white property, erf [plot] or farm. They want to seize our entire country. "They want to degrade us to the level of peasantry, a powerless minority under an ANC [African National Congress]-dominated black government." SA's whites could not flee, nor would they flee. They would not submit themselves to this type of domination. "We seek a free country, not a burial ground."

The government's proposals disinherited and dispossessed whites of their land while communal or tribal possession in the black states was left intact. The CP laid no claim to the land or national assets of other peoples.



Whites had acquired their land through the lawful occupation of large tracts of uninhabited land, through agreements, cession, barter and, to a lesser degree, through justifiable conquest. "We did not exterminate peoples in order to do this. Others tried to exterminate us. Notwithstanding all this, we still gave millions of hectares of our land to black peoples without charge."

Black communities possessed more than 50 percent of the territory of the southern African region, yet 90 percent of the gross national product came from white land, most of which was either desert or semi-desert.

The government was now prepared to cause devastation and conflict between peoples which would spread to cities, towns and farms. The resultant damage, injuries and loss would be its fault.

"The government has no mandate to make our country the property of all and sundry. Its actions are immoral. The honourable way would be to test the will of white voters in a white general election, otherwise the government will continue to commit treason against its own people." "The government leaves us no choice but to rise up in the struggle to defend our living space and our freedom with the necessary means at our disposal."

#### **Treurnicht Vows To 'Eise Up'**

*MB1503164091 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1545 GMT 15 Mar 91*

[Text] The government's proposed land reforms leave the Conservative Party [CP] no choice but to rise up to defend its living space and freedom. These words today from the party's leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht in his strongest condemnation of the proposals to date.

[Begin video recording] [Reporter Clarence Keyter] Making the announcement in the party's caucus room at Parliament today CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht said the government's intended actions would destroy the economic and social order of South Africa. He said it would also destroy each nation's community life and that friction would disrupt neighborhood and community relations. Dr. Treurnicht emphasized that the CP would not submit to this and that their claim to an own country and self government was not negotiable. He said they were prepared to sacrifice their lives for these rights.

[Treurnicht] As the representatives of the majority of the white nation we now realize that the government with its decision on land reform has plunged us into a struggle for our freedom. This struggle has now taken on a serious and deeper dimension. The government has no mandate to make our country the property of all and sundry. Its actions are immoral. The honorable way would be to test the will of the white voters in a white general election, otherwise, the government will continue to commit treason against its own people. The government leaves us no choice but to rise up in the struggle to defend our living space and our freedom with the necessary means at our disposal.

[Keyter] Dr. Treurnicht declined to answer any questions flowing from the statement. Leaving the caucus room Dr. Treurnicht however said, and we quote, we have much more up our sleeves. When a senior party official was asked whether the statement could be interpreted as a deceleration of war he said such an interpretation would not be unwarranted and that this was only the tip of the iceberg. [end recording]

#### **AWB Gives 'Full Support'**

*MB1503174691 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1739 GMT 15 Mar 91*

[Excerpt] Johannesburg Mar 15 SAPA—The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement; AWB] has given its full support to the Conservative Party's [CP] call, issued on Friday, for whites to rise up in the struggle to defend their living space and freedom.

The AWB spokesman, Mr C. Stucki, said in a brief statement that the organisation supported the CP in its statement issued earlier concerning the white paper on land reform. He did not elaborate further. [passage omitted]

#### **NP Condemns Treurnicht's Statement**

*MB1503175891 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 15 Mar 91*

[Text] The National Party [NP] has condemned the statement by the leader of the Conservative Party [CP], Dr. Andries Treurnicht, that CP supporters are prepared to sacrifice their lives for rights that will be lost as a result of the government's white paper on land reform.

The National Party's information officer in the Transvaal, Mrs. Sheila Camerer, said his statement was an intemperate diatribe that had no foundation in fact or law. She said that Dr. Treurnicht was playing a dangerous game of flirting with violent action through the use of revolutionary rhetoric.

Dr. Treurnicht owed the electorate an explanation of what he meant and the implications for the country when he said that the government left white South Africans with no choice but to defend their living space and freedom with every means at their disposal.

#### **More Reaction to Government Land Reform Proposals**

##### **Contralesa on Return of Lands**

*MB1503161891 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1532 GMT 15 Mar 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Mar 15 SAPA—Traditional leaders and their people wish to reoccupy the lands they were removed from before the people of South Africa can meet to discuss the question of land.

This was said on Friday by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) in its response to the government's land reform proposals.

The government's white paper on land reform did not address the problems which were created by the "indigenous peoples of South Africa having been cut off from their ancestral lands and their sacred places of worship", Contralesa noted.

Contralesa called on the "traditional leaders, the workers and the people at large, our friends the world over to stop the white tribe from taking unilateral decisions on land matters in the absence of land owners". "The traditional leaders reject the idea of the state president to openly attempt to co-opt us into his initiatives aimed at securing our land for minority whites.

"It should be remembered that both the colonialists' apartheid and its bantustan apparatus have for many years used forced removals, banishment, deposition of traditional leaders and their people to gain access to our land."

#### **HNP Warns on 'Abuse of Power'**

*MB1603134091 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1330 GMT 16 Mar 91*

[Text] Pretoria March 16 SAPA—All rightwing groups should unite in their refusal to become involved in the "sell-out" process of negotiation, Herstigte Nasionale Party [HNP; Reformed National Party] leader Jaap Marais said in Pretoria on Saturday.

Mr Marais told a news conference after a meeting of the party's executive that those, who would benefit materially from the government's abuse of power, should realise the day would come when they would lose what had been taken illegally from the Afrikaner Volk [People].

"As before in Afrikaner history, that which is deemed irreversible will be reversed," warned Mr Marais. Asked if the HNP would use violence to oppose events, Mr Marais said if the government thwarted democratic opposition by its undemocratic actions, people would be compelled to act undemocratically.

At Majuba, the Boer nation had repelled the government with weapons. There were many examples in history where the government of the day had stabbed its people in the back.

"The executive of the HNP regards the government's proposed scrapping of the laws on group areas and land as a determined step to rob whites of their fatherland and to reduce South Africa to Third World status," said Mr Marais.

Revolution will throw South Africa into chaos.

#### **Organizations Criticize Proposals**

*MB1603155291 Johannesburg NEW NATION in English 14-21 Mar 91 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Govt's Land Reforms Slated"]

[Text] The White Paper on Land reform by the government has come under criticism from community organisations who view the paper as an attempt to retain apartheid legislation under the guise of reform.

According to Operation Masakhane for the Homeless spokesperson, Basheer Lorgat, none of the proposed reforms in the white paper even attempt to redress the acute imbalances in society.

The Grahamstown Rural Committee (GRC) also criticised the paper for not attempting to address the injustices that the apartheid policy has created.

GRC said that there would be no resolution of land issues in the country until the government addressed the legacy of injustice and poverty created by the government.

Referring to the government's commitment to making land accessible, the statement said: "Now De Klerk is arguing that the free market is the way to an equitable redistribution of land, but blacks have systematically been denied the wealth to compete in the free market."

"Only affirmative action and redistribution of resources can deal with this legacy of deprivation and injustice," said the GRC.

The National Interim Civic Committee (NICC) said in a statement that the bill dealt only with the protection of private ownership. It said that no attempt was made by the government to consult the community and attempt to formulate strategies of redressing existing imbalances of land ownership.

"In fact, the Less Formal Township Establishment Bill emphasises continued inequality. It provides for shack settlements to continue.

"We call on the government to shelve these bills and to consult with the communities and their organisations throughout the country" the NICC said.

#### **Soviets Oppose ANC Reaction**

*MB1703060391 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English 16 Mar 91 p 2*

[Africa News Service report: "Soviets Oppose ANC on Land Reforms"]

[Text] Lusaka—Soviet Africanists do not support the negative reaction to President de Klerk's land reform policy by the African National Congress [ANC] and representatives of the black community in South Africa.

The Soviet news agency NOVOSTI, canvassed the Africa specialists in Moscow on the land reform moves and found qualified support, according to a report released in Lusaka by the agency.

NOVOSTI found no consensus among researchers in the Southern African section of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, "who have been keenly following the development of the political situation in (South Africa)".

The head of the section, Dr. Andrey Pokrovskiy, said there was unanimity on one point: that at last President de Klerk had started implementing the declared programme of reforms.

He said a fuller assessment could not be made until the land reform proposals had been studied, he said. "But it is beyond doubt that the dismantling of apartheid has started."

NOVOSTI says that when its representative had private conversations with Soviet experts on Africa "they did not make it a secret that they do not support the ANC's negative stand on this question".

At the same time they opposed Britain's call for the immediate lifting of sanctions, saying the draft land legislation should first be studied.

NOVOSTI says that "the people working in the Soviet Centre of African Studies believe that a successful dialogue between the white and black communities is possible only if the sides are prepared to make a reasonable compromise."

"Regrettably, the representatives of the black community have not displayed such preparedness so far. This suits the ultras in both communities who are making efforts to torpedo the dialogue which is under way".

#### **Ministers Outline Land Program for Black Peasants**

*MB1703160491 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 17 Mar 91 p 5*

[Report by Mike Robertson and Eve-Lyn Holtzhausen: "The New Lie of the Land"]

[Text] The government plans to settle 300,000 black peasant farmers on land in previously "white" South Africa within the next eight years.

The ambitious project—disclosed by Agriculture and Development Aid Minister Jacob de Villiers to the SUNDAY TIMES this week—constitutes one of the biggest land reform programmes in South African history.

Together with dependents and job creating spin-offs, as many as five million black people could be making their livelihoods though small-scale farming by the turn of the century.

Details of the reform programme follow the publication of the historic White Paper on land which promises to transform land ownership and settlement patterns in the country.

Mr De Villiers and Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel, the two Cabinet members charged with piloting the land reform programme through parliament, this week categorically rejected calls for restitution by those dispossessed of their land.

They said instead, the government planned to make small and medium sized farms available to black farmers at low cost.

In addition, the government would provide black farmers with access to credit, extension and training facilities necessary to enable them to compete as commercial farmers.

Mr Kriel said there were millions of hectares of land available on the open market.

We must just plan our economy in such a way that we can assist people to become owners of these farms."

Mr De Villiers said, as a first step, black farmers presently occupying some 254,000ha [hectares] of land owned by the SA [South African] Development Trust would be given title deeds to this property. This would happen after mid-year.

Soon after that, titles to farms on some 220,000ha of SA Development Trust-owned land would be given to black farmers.

Dr De Villiers said once the farmers were in possession of the titles they would be able to get loans from agricultural credit boards and the Land Bank.

Those who were relatively better off would also be able to get loans from commercial banks.

Mr De Villiers said the National Rural Development Corporation, which would be set up to oversee the rural land reform programme, would negotiate the size of farms with communities and farmers involved.

It would also service these farms with advice, training and extension services "on a more intensive scale than we service white commercial farmers".

He said the government planned, by means of the corporation, to establish 300,000 small to medium scale black commercial farmers on land outside the homelands by the year 2000.

The 474,000ha owned by the SA Development Trust would be used for the first grants of land.

He added, however, that: "It is far too little. We will have to buy other land."



Mr De Villiers said to achieve its aim, the government would be looking for support from private enterprise and the international community.

"What I would aim for is that a family would be able to produce food and have the ability to save money on their property.

"They can't be subsistence farmers...I want to help a subsistence farmer become a small farmer ... enable a small farmer to grow both in terms of productivity on the land and in the size of his farm."

Mr De Villiers said, initially, settling farmers would not cost a lot because the land on which they would be settled was already owned by the government.

He disclosed that the government had begun to discuss projects involving settling black farmers on land outside the homelands with a number of foreign governments. He declined to say which governments.

#### **\*CP Spokesman Discusses Policy, Reforms**

91AF0757E Johannesburg THE NEW NATION  
in English 15-21 Feb 91 p 10

[Interview with Conservative Party [CP] foreign affairs spokesman Tom Langley; boldface words as published]

[Text] This year's parliamentary session, one might say, will be interesting. "But I can tell you this will be a very different session of parliament," Conservative Party foreign affairs spokesperson Tom Langley told NEW NATION in an interview.

Langley spoke only a few hours after the CP had walked out of parliament in protest against National Party (NP) leader F.W. de Klerk's speech.

A lawyer by profession, Langley was born in Louis Trichardt in the Far Northern Transvaal and served on the Pretoria Bar for 20 years.

He entered politics in 1966 when he became NP MP (Member of Parliament) for Waterkloof. He broke away from the NP in 1984 and was voted CP MP for Soutpansberg, a seat he still holds.

He has retired from legal practice and is now a cattle farmer.

NEW NATION asked Langley about the CP's views, particularly their objections to political changes currently under way.

**NN: The CP is against the scrapping of apartheid, which is regarded worldwide as an unjust policy. What is your alternative to apartheid?**

Langley: First of all the word apartheid does not feature in the CP's principles or policies. We use the word partition.

I also do not think that any country's political leaders should be led by what the world thinks of a particular situation. You run your domestic affairs according to your own needs.

We stand for partition, which envisages the division of South Africa among the various nations in such a way that they do not infringe on each others' political and geographical rights. In other words, it is a geographical partition in order to accommodate the political and governmental jurisdiction of a particular nation.

The truth of the South African situation is that you have so many nations who had their own countries long before there was the union of South Africa or anything like apartheid.

So we do not believe in power-sharing, universal franchise, one common voters' roll, because that is going to bring strife in South Africa. Not because of whites alone or because of the whites at all, but because the truth is that no one will tolerate domination.

**Does the concept of partition not have racial connotations?**

Yes, perhaps, because incidentally you also have a white group in South Africa—but otherwise these are not race but ethnic connotations in the sense that you have many nations with their own languages, own legal systems and culture.

**But experience has shown that when you bring people together, ethnic differences do not play a role, and that is the case in South Africa where white 'nations' are not living separately on the basis of ethnicity?**

The big fight in South African politics has not been between blacks and whites, it has been between the Afrikaners and the English, because the Afrikaners did not accept English domination.

The same way the Zulus fight with the Xhosas, the Shangaans with the Northern Sothos. So the wars are not racially motivated, but for self-determination.

**Does that mean that if the CP came into power it would further subdivide the country?**

I think so.

**What would you do about places such as Soweto where you have a mingling of 'nations' in the same area?**

I do not think the townships have mixed nations as some people are trying to put. If they are mixed and living harmoniously why do you have a fight between Xhosas and Zulus? And you know very well that this fight began many years ago in Natal and the Cape and maybe, it was brought to Soweto by this tendency of mixing nations, who knows?

I do not believe the fight is between the ANC and Inkatha...it is a tribal fight going on already by ages.

before you and I were born. Do not be misled by communists, socialists, liberals, people of middle thinking.

**Is the CP in favour of negotiating a future constitution for South Africa?**

The CP is not refusing to negotiate with the recognised and accepted and proven leaders of the various nations of South Africa.

But we can only be sure of a successful negotiation when we are sure that we are negotiating from a position of a power. Therefore we will force an election to determine our strength at the moment within the white electorate.

Furthermore, we believe that the Nats and the ANC [African National Congress] have already agreed on all major issues—they have been negotiating for the past three years while Mandela was in jail—and we are not about to enter negotiations to say thanks to what they have already done and given credibility to the NP and the ANC. So we are very far from entering negotiations.

**What do you mean by "proven leaders?" Would you welcome an election to prove this?**

I am talking about people in the line of Dr Buthelezi. But not leaders who came to the top, pushed by matches and tyres.

**What is your opinion on the idea of an elected constituent assembly to determine whose policies are favoured by the majority of the people in the country?**

Of course, there I share the stand point of Dr Buthelezi that in South Africa you have a sovereign state already with a constitutionally established authority, run by constitutionally elected people, so I do not see any reason for a constituent assembly. We are not a little piece of desert like Namibia.

**But many people did not vote in the various previous elections, because they did not regard them as legitimate?**

There were elections everywhere. If people did not want to vote, it is their own problem. People in Johannesburg, for example, could go and vote in the independent states or the self-governing territories.

But, of course, if your concern is that not all the parties were represented during the elections, then I would say that the first thing that you have to do is to give all the parties the same opportunity to put their cases before the electorate and you have to free the people of terrorism and intimidation.

**Many people believe that many organisations in South Africa have used intimidation, one way or another, to achieve their political aims. The state and the bantustan governments have sued the security forces to suppress their oppositions. Does your call for an end to intimidation include the use of security forces?**

The thing is in KwaZulu, for example, there is an elected government which has the police to maintain law and order. What do you think will happen if the ANC and the communists take over South Africa?

There will be one party, one police force and they will burn people who do not agree with them.

**You seem to be more concerned about intimidation from extra-parliamentary groups. What about the NP which has some control over the security forces?**

I do not know whether the state intimidates or maintains law and order. But I do not want to talk about this government, because it does not even maintain law and order in the proper manner, so how can they intimidate?

**I would agree with you that they do not maintain law and order, their law and order is furthering the NP's policies of apartheid. Is that what you are saying?**

No, I do not think so, I think that is communist talk, because they are obviously on the way to capitulation. Even bomb blast that takes place now they say its the rightwing. Nonsense! And the media supports that, because you are all protecting the ANC.

**What is your comment on speculation that the CP could quit parliament to force an election?**

I think that is an option which we are looking at to challenge the government. Now I do not want to create any expectations that that could come about during this session. All I can tell you is that it is an option.

**We are also told that a split within the CP is imminent because some members are willing to enter into the process of negotiations and make their proposals there. Is that the case?**

That is a story printed in one of the National Party papers. It is commonly known that when they have got problems themselves, they build stories about us. We know the National Party has got tension in its caucus, the same applies to the DP [Democratic Party]. And the whole question is: Is it De Klerk's reform which is being rejected.

**A CP leader has publicly said that if the CP came to power, organisations like the ANC and the black trade unions would be banned and restricted. Is that your true thinking?**

We have not addressed these questions and when we have them we will consider every matter according to the facts before us.

**What is your view on the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and what is your response to their "one-settler, one-bullet" slogan?**

They are not the only ones who can shoot. I have also got my guns and I will use them when the time comes.

**\*ANC Said Losing Control of Militant Youth**

91AF0757A Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 8-14 Feb 91 p 3

[Article by Eddie Koch and Sarah Blecher; first paragraph is WEEKLY MAIL introduction]

[Text] In attempts to 'make the townships ungovernable' the ANC [African National Congress] often turned a blind eye to excesses of the militant youth. It now battles to bring them under control.

The African National Congress faces one of its greatest threats as dissident political factions, frequently linked to ruthless gangs of "comtsotsis," wage a bloody war against ANC activists across the country.

This week saw a unique pact between the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC]. The agreement commits the rival movements to a common campaign for a constituent assembly and joint efforts to stop sectarian clashes between their members. But it does little to address the deep-rooted problems that have ripped apart the social fabric of many black townships.

Take Bekkersdal near Randfontein. Bitter sectarian strife between the ANC and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) escalates as local gangs enter the fray.

In Sebokeng, near Vereeniging, the local ANC branch is torn by dissension as former "comrades" form themselves into a criminal gang that, with apparent support from Inkatha, wages a bloody war that culminated in the massacre of 45 people at a funeral vigil in January.

Shatale is a part of Lebowa in the Eastern Transvaal. There dissident "comrades" plot to kill the chairperson of the pro-civic organisation (see below).

Komga in the Eastern Cape: a battle between rival PAC and ANC factions splits the volatile township and fills the casualty ward of the local hospital.

Around the country the ANC, instead of mobilising new members and consolidating its ranks, is being called on to put out the fires of sectarian strife. Organisers, already overworked and stretched to the limit, are forced to throw the bulk of their time and energy into quelling intemecine battles.

Andrew Mapheto, senior organiser for the ANC PWV (Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging) region says: "Since the violence broke out I would say that 99 percent of the new branches have not been visited regularly. What we have been doing is crisis management rather than building a powerful network for the organisation."

And it is the renaissance of a familiar township scourge, organised gangs of unemployed township youths, that runs like a thread through each of the trouble spots.

These people are part of a social grouping that formed a class ally during the insurrections that took place between 1984 and 1986. Youngsters, who in normal

times respond to unemployment by resorting to crime, became the shocktroops of the struggle.

They are the ones who carried the twin leitmotifs of ANC strategy at the time: "people's war" and "make the townships ungovernable." For these people, the fight was for freedom, power and loot—or a combination of these.

Civic and trade union leaders, capable of imposing some discipline over their young compatriots, were in detention and excesses by the "young lions" of the townships were at best overlooked and at worst condoned.

The link between common crime and political struggle that characterised these times is graphically expressed by the activities, documented by ANC officials, of the gang of supposedly ANC-aligned youths—"comtsotsis"—in Khutsong that called themselves the Gaddafis or the G-squad.

"They burned houses at random; stole door frames, windows, and geysers; burned people; sliced off ears, forcing people to eat them; raped girls; stopped people from reporting to police, operated own courts; forced shebeen owners to give them free liquor; forced shop owners to give them free food; hijacked taxis; and collected protection fees from households," says an unofficial report on G-squad activities.

When the ANC was unbanned last year, and forced to don the respectable cloak of a government-in-waiting, leadership could no longer afford to overlook the indulgences that frequently accompanied political activity.

Says Michael Cross, researcher into youth culture at the Wits University Education Faculty: "Gangsters can do things like throw petrol bombs and hijack cars that normal people must be first taught to do, so there was a real space for the expression of gang culture in the struggle."

But there is an inherent contradiction between the discipline required by political struggle and the unruly behaviour of tsotsis. "As leaders began to emerge in the mass democratic movement (after the abolition of the Emergency and the unbanning of the ANC) the tsotsis resisted discipline and began to organise themselves as gangs."

**\*Local Government Level Reform Efforts Viewed**

91AF0757B Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
5 Feb 91 p 17

[Article by Louise Burger; first paragraph is THE STAR introduction]

[Text] President de Klerk's announcement that reforms at local government level would be 'legalised' has placed the spotlight on the Johannesburg Metropolitan Chamber. Municipal Reporter Louise burgers looks at the chamber's pivotal role in negotiating democratic, non-racial structures.



President F.W. de Klerk announced in the opening of Parliament speech that legislation would be introduced this year to enable black and white local authorities to establish joint structures even before a new constitution was tabled.

The assurance was given that local government initiatives such as the Johannesburg Metropolitan Chamber (JMC) would be "legalised."

Altogether 22 bodies in the central Witwatersrand—city and town councils, civic associations and provincial representatives—have taken part in initial meetings of the chamber, which will be formally constituted on 6 March.

Mr de Klerk said the Government did not wish to pre-empt the national negotiation process in any way.

Interim steps would be taken to accommodate the co-operation which had developed in many communities, and to give legal sanction to existing joint actions and joint structures.

Johannesburg management committee chairman Ian Davidson said the JMC was a mirror image of initiatives at national level.

"It will not be too long before we in the Johannesburg region will utilise that piece of legislation in order to constitute a mixed city council for the Greater Johannesburg area. In my opinion, Government is looking to the JMC to pave the way and guide other councils.

"This is a positive piece of legislation which will encourage local initiatives.

"We are the only negotiating forum of its nature in South Africa and well ahead of any other region. Eventually the chamber will be disbanded in its present form, but the concept of metropolitan government will survive."

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand said Mr de Klerk had effectively legalised the JMC.

He said there would be objections from extra-parliamentary bodies to some of the proposed legislation because they would claim the component parts of new joint structures were racially defined structures.

"In a sense, what is a pragmatic step viewed from one angle, will be seen as entrenching apartheid from another viewpoint. The negotiation of such structures will be the key towards resolving the differences."

The new legislation would entail:

- Joint provision of services and establishment of a single administration for various participating local authorities.

The possibility for participating local authorities to take decisions at joint meetings that would be binding on all of the participants.

The creation of a single body to which the powers and functions of the participating authorities could be assigned either in whole or in part.

The Government was also attending to the financial implications, since progress in development of structures for co-operation could not be impeded by financial limitations.

Fanie Ferreira, who is chairing the meetings of the JMC at present, describes the formation of the Metropolitan Chamber as a breakthrough for consensus politics.

(Mr Ferreira is a member of the executive committee of the Transvaal Provincial Administration.)

Central Witwatersrand Regional Services chairman, John Griffiths, believes there should be a timetable for local authorities and communities to initiate negotiations for new forms of local government.

Mr Griffiths believes Friday's speech by the State President gave recognition and encouragement to local initiatives.

"That is an absolute milestone and a far greater challenge than we expected," said Mr Griffiths. "It is exciting."

Actstop spokesman and Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal representative in Johannesburg, Mohammed Dangor, said although the civic associations from the townships had committed themselves to the metropolitan chamber, a constituent assembly at local government level was needed to determine the future of the cities.

He said the civic associations would not accept black town councillors and Indian and coloured management committee members as legitimate members of the chamber, and urged them to resign.

Southern Transvaal Democratic Party vice-chairman, Sias Reyneke said the chamber would not be representative unless parties such as the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], Inkatha and the Conservative Party were invited to participate.

Patrick Lephunya, a civic association negotiator, said the chamber's decisions should be binding, but not at the expense of national negotiations.

The reason we want something to be binding is so that protection can be afforded to others," he said.

"The Government is emphasising local negotiations at the expense of smaller townships adjacent to Conservative Party towns, for example."

A chairman and a vice-chairman for the JMC will be elected by a simple majority.

There will have to be consensus on all important decisions. Each party will have one vote and a veto.

The Joint Technical Committee, established after the historic Soweto Accord to facilitate the formation of the metropolitan chamber, will appoint working groups made up of officials and other experts, to study constitutional, economic, social, institutional and physical development.

Task groups appointed in turn by the working groups will investigate affordable tariffs, the improvement of infrastructure, the transfer of rented housing stock and a common fiscal base.

Members of the chamber are the TPA [Transvaal Provincial Association], the Johannesburg City Council, Sandton, Randburg and Roodepoort town councils, the three Greater Soweto councils, nine civic organisations and five management committees from the Indian and coloured areas.

Bodies with observer status are the Midrand town council, Rand Water Board, Development Bank, Eskom [Electricity Supply Commission] and the Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council.

#### **\*AZANYU Group Challenges PAC Policy**

91AF0757C Johannesburg THE NEW NATION  
in English 15-21 Feb 91 p 3

[Text] An Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) splinter group has challenged the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) to withdraw its call for a Constituent Assembly.

The [word illegible] group was formed as a result of the [words illegible] four Azanyu national executive members at a congress held last month at Cala, in the Transkei.

The spokesperson for the group's steering committee, Khulu Rashama, said yesterday that the PAC call for a Constituent Assembly was "an act of deviation from our long-standing principles and policies."

Rashama said their programme of action included efforts to pressurise the PAC not to join marches for a Constituent Assembly because it meant that the "oppressed masses were appealing for their liberation."

"In fact, these marches legitimise them [the oppressors] as men of integrity," Rashama said, adding that their alternative for a Constituent Assembly, which they do not regard as an alternative but an official position of the PAC, was a "revolutionary take over."

#### **\*COSATU Reexamining Political Role, Tasks**

##### **\*Constitutional Changes Envisaged**

91AF0758A Johannesburg THE NEW NATION  
in English 15-21 Feb 91 p 11

[Text] COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) is undergoing a rigorous self-examination process in the run-up to its July congress, looking both at its organisational tasks and its political role in the changed political climate.

Some of the questions facing COSATU were raised at the federation's weekend Central Executive Committee (CEC) meeting. These questions have mainly arisen out of evaluations carried out at various levels within COSATU over the past few months.

One of the key challenges facing COSATU is to ensure that it is a strong, organised mass-based force. This will then guarantee that, in a post-apartheid South Africa, the trade union movement really is independent of the major political formations.

To make sure that structures and weak sectors are strengthened as well as ensuring that new areas and sectors are organised, the federation is considering making changes to its constitution.

As congress is the only body which can change the constitution, the federation has to reach consensus on changes by July.

Among the changes being considered are:

- defining a constitutional role for locals;

expanding the number of office bearers by adding a further two vice-presidents. Each vice-president would then be responsible for a particular area of work such as women and weak sectors;

electing a full-time president to take some of the weight off the secretariat; and

expanding the secretariat to include the education secretary, who would be elected at congress instead of at a separate education conference;

Since COSATU's last congress in 1989, the political situation has changed considerably. The federation is thus also in the process of redefining its role politically.

The tripartite alliance of the ANC [African National Congress], SACP (South African Communist Party) and COSATU, seen as the driving force of the liberation struggle, is one of the federation's key focusses.

As the ANC and SACP have both been preoccupied with re-establishing themselves inside the country, the alliance has been unable to function properly.

COSATU is likely to push for better co-ordination and consultation between the three structures, and for a programme that addresses the needs of the majority of

people, such as demands for housing, adequate education and ending the violence.

COSATU is also considering whether it wants to participate directly in the negotiation process once it gets off the ground.

Regardless of whether it decides on independent representation at the negotiating table or not, COSATU has to ensure that its campaigns have an impact on political developments and that worker demands are firmly on the agenda at the table.

This is particularly so in the economic field where worker demands—such as some of those being collected in the worker charter—have to become entrenched in the country's new constitution.

The federation also needs, as a matter of urgency, to refine its contributions to the economic debate so that it is in a position to concretely challenge the positions being put forward by big business.

#### **\*International Ties Studied**

91AF0758B Johannesburg THE NEW NATION  
in English 15-21 Feb 91 p 11

[Text] COSATU's position on international relations is expected to undergo radical re-examination within the next few months in view of the far reaching changes that have occurred at both a political and economic level in the world.

One of the issues it will have to reach finality on this year is whether or not to affiliate to the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU).

It will also have to examine its relations with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the World Federation of Trade Union (WFTU).

While affiliation to OATUU was raised at last week's Central Executive Committee (CEC) meeting there was little discussion and no decision was taken.

Debate nevertheless remains sensitive, especially against the background of the split in OATUU during the latter half of the 1980's. But this split has been mended. And while there is optimism that remaining problems within OATUU will be resolved, these will not make the debate easier.

OATUU has already considered an application for affiliation from NACTU [national Council of Trade Unions] and has decided that it will grant affiliation to both federations.

In the event COSATU decides to affiliate, it will become OATUU's biggest member with a membership of over a million. Two of the African federation's biggest affiliates are the Tanzanian federation, Juwata and the Kenyan Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU), which have a combined membership of under a million.

Given its size, Cosatu would be well-placed to further consolidate the progress made in OATUU towards deepening the unity after the problems in the 1980's.

COSATU assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi attended the recent OATUU congress in Libya as part of the federation's efforts to strengthen links with African trade unions.

COSATU representatives also held a special session with leaders from the Southern Africa Trade Union Coordinating Committee (SATUCC) during last year's the International Labour Organisation (ILO) conference.

Among those that attended the session were representatives from Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania and Lesotho.

The need to re-examine its international links comes against the background of the emergence of three poles of development following the restructuring of the world economic order.

These are the European Common Market with Germany as its centre, the Pacific rim with Japan as the centre and North America with the United States as the centre.

Inequalities between the northern and southern hemispheres are certain to be underscored by these developments with workers in the south coming under increasing pressure from the dominant north. This will require stronger links with unions in the developing countries in the north and beyond Africa.

COSATU has until now argued for active non-alignment and has steered clear of affiliation to either of the two world federations, the ICFTU and the WFTU.

But there are indications that COSATU's position may be changing. Last year, the federation pointed out that it did not envisage any problem in meeting with a key ICFTU affiliate, the American labour federation AFL-CIO.

COSATU's vice-president then met with the AFL-CIO executive as part of an ANC delegation last year.

More recently, COSATU general secretary Jay Naidoo attended the ICFTU congress in Japan.

COSATU leaders have also visited affiliates of the WFTU during the last year. A high level COSATU delegation attended the WFTU congress in Moscow. But with the social and political turmoil in Eastern Europe, a great of uncertainty surrounds the future of the WFTU.

A number of national trade union centres in the Eastern European bloc have applied for affiliation to the ICFTU, resulting in the strengthening of this international centre at the expense of the WFTU.

And it is clear that the Cold War at the level of the trade unions has not ended. This must certainly impact on how COSATU redefines its international relations.



One positive development, however, in the Eastern Bloc has been the emergence of more genuine brand of trade unionism in direct response to the increasingly difficult conditions being faced by workers there. It is not inconceivable that COSATU will strengthen links with these emerging formations.

As it strengthens links with African trade unions, it may seek more active involvement in the ICFTU's special committee on South Africa.

**16 Mar Press Review of Current Issues, Problems**  
*MB1603105291*

[Editorial Report]

**SATURDAY STAR**

Need for Environmental Department—Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English on 16 March in a page 10 editorial warns of increasing pollution in South Africa and states "the maximum fine for plundering the natural treasury of South Africa" is 300 rands. It then asks "Who is responsible? Nobody in particular. That's the trouble. It is yet another indication that we need a central environmental protection agency to coordinate development, establish standards, advise on penalties and monitor a recovery programme."

**THE CITIZEN**

Land Reform Plan 'Tremendous' in Scope—"The land reforms do not please the White Right or the ANC [African National Congress] and other radical organisations, but they are tremendous in their scope, ending land apartheid and freeing land for occupation by people irrespective of race, colour or religion," writes Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 13 March in a page 6 editorial. "It would be wise for reasonable people of all races to accept the government has made a gigantic stride into the future, away from apartheid and in the interests of people of all races." "The government may be going too far for some, and not far enough for others, but its success with land and other reforms is that it is both morally correct, consistent, and in the middle lane of change."

Government Should Seek Multiparty Conference—THE CITIZEN, in a page 7 editorial on 14 March, states that the government and the ANC-SACP-COSATU [South African Communist Party—Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance are "poles apart on the mechanism for bringing about a new constitution." "We hope" that the government will resist the opposition's "pressures and stick to its own idea of a multi-party conference. If it doesn't, the chances of achieving an acceptable, negotiated settlement will be destroyed." Also, "until we know what the government's constitutional plan is, we will not know whether the high principles enunciated by the State President are achievable. It is time the nation was taken into Mr de Klerk's confidence."

**18 Mar Press Review of Current Issues, Problems**  
*MB1803115791*

[Editorial Report]

**SUNDAY TIMES**

Right, Left Threats to Land Reforms—The land reforms proposed by government "represent the acceptance, by a reasonable majority of whites, of a common citizenship in a common fatherland," notes a page 22 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 17 March. The right-wing poses a "lesser threat" to these reforms than the left-wing "where people who see apartheid as principally an opportunity to make war on Western capitalism are stoking emotions about land almost as recklessly as Dr Treurnicht. The remand for reparations to individuals and tribal communities who were forcibly moved under apartheid law is extrapolated, by sloppy language and vague definition, to suggest that every black person is entitled, by the fact of his race, to an undefined (but implicitly substantial) piece of real estate." SUNDAY TIMES believes the place to "seek remedies is in the common law which was so grievously tortured by apartheid and which may now be repaired. An attack in the courts on the lawful basis of apartheid itself, or at least on the good faith with which the land laws were administered, is surely overdue."

**SUNDAY STAR**

Land Reforms Paper 'Riddle With Deep Fear of Change'—"There is a breathtaking arrogance unbecoming of Mr de Klerk's Government in the assertion that the restoration of land to people forced out by past policies is not feasible," states Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 17 March in a page 14 editorial. "It seeks to maintain the 'present position' which just happens to suit the present minority Government's supporters to the detriment of the people who would support a majority government." "Government has decided that the abolition of the Group Areas Act is to be accompanied by a Bill that provides draconian powers to officialdom to maintain standards which were somehow unnecessary when the best suburbs were reserved for whites. The White Paper is riddled with a deep fear of change. The Residential Environment Bill is saturated with white fears that leafy suburbs are about to be turned into the overcrowded shanty towns which have so far been the exclusive domain of blacks."

**THE STAR**

Call for Return of Walvis Bay to Namibia—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 18 March says in a page 12 editorial that although there are "legal and historical grounds" why South Africa should retain the port of Walvis Bay, "the Government should further the spirit of goodwill and reconciliation which President de Klerk himself has created by handing Walvis Bay over without strings to the Windhoek administration." "Pretoria does not want to be seen giving too much away too soon. For this reason, the talks on finding an acceptable,

face-saving compromise are being spun out. If the present South African Government will not acknowledge Namibia's claim to full sovereignty over Walvis, a future one almost certainly will."

#### BUSINESS DAY

'Underhand' Accounting in Cooperation Bureau—"It has been apparent for some time that the full story of the military's sinister Civil Cooperation Bureau [CCB] will never be told," says Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 18 March in a page 6 editorial. "Now it seems some of the millions spent on this secret 'dirty tricks' squad will never be accounted for either." The parliamentary committee on public accounts has "reason for concern." Some 3.6 million rand is "unauthorised spending because it lacked proper approval; R[and]3m [million] is being recovered from the military personnel to whom it was advanced, while files relating to a further R600,000 are hidden or destroyed." Therefore, "it comes as no surprise that underhand and immoral activities are accompanied by underhand accounting and possibly theft. With the 'disbanded' CCB rehiring former organisers, ensuring their silence for a while, Magnus Malan has a lot to answer for; his successor as Defence Minister has a lot of cleaning up to do."

#### CAPE TIMES

Call for ANC To Stop 'Press-Bashing'—"Instead of appointing press marshals, the ANC [African National Congress] would do better simply to stop press-bashing at its meetings," declares a page 4 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 14 March. "Already the Media Council has felt it necessary to appoint a special committee to investigate the intimidation of black journalists, some of whom have been tried by kangaroo courts and severely beaten. If this is the outlook for press freedom in the new society, heaven help us."

#### TRANSVALER

Land Reform Proposals Shift Burden Onto ANC—"Those who believed and hoped the process of reform was still reversible, should know now following Tuesday's [12 March] parliamentary white paper on land reforms that F.W. de Klerk is determined to fulfill his commitment to the abolition of discrimination," states a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 14 March. "The series of bills that will topple the apartheid pillars shortly, now place the burden on the ANC and other organizations of like thinking to state their true intentions."

## Angola

### Interior Ministry Lifts Curfew in Luanda 15 Mar

MB1503203091 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Communique issued by the Angolan Interior Ministry in Luanda on 15 March]

[Text] The disturbing situation experienced on 27 May 1977 required the adoption of a series of measures by the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] General Staff to ensure our country's political and military stability. The measures included a state of curfew that was declared in Luanda City, as well as in some of our country's provinces by local authorities as a result of war.

Meanwhile, the continued struggle imposed on us by the South African Army, as well as the increasing instability caused by forces backed by it, led us to continue this measure. Accordingly, the state of curfew, as an exceptional measure resulting from a state of emergency, was not short-lived and temporary as it was intended to be at the start. It has been therefore renewed regularly until this date.

Thus, taking into account that the reasons which led to the adoption of such a measure have been diminishing within the framework of ongoing political changes, including the New York agreements which clearly represented the elimination of the most important obstacle leading to peace;

Taking into account the measures adopted by the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party Third Congress toward national unity and our country's democratization in order to build a state based on the rule of law where restrictions on citizens's freedoms and rights must be minimized;

Using powers conferred on me by Article 62 of the Constitution, I determine:

1. The state of curfew has been lifted throughout Luanda Province.
2. The issuing of free transit permits by the Public Order National Directorate and the People's Police General Command in the Ministry of Interior is abolished effective immediately.
3. All regulations and instructions that contradict this communique are without effect.
4. This communique comes into effect immediately.

[Issued] Office of the Ministry of Interior, Luanda 15 March 1991, year of economic rehabilitation and multi-party democracy

[Signed] Lieutenant General Francisco Paiva Nvunda, minister of interior and member of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee Political Bureau

### UNITA's Savimbi Addresses Seventh Congress

MB1403112891 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance  
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and  
Central Africa 0505 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Speech by President Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, to the seventh UNITA Congress at Nkrumah base on 12 March—recorded]

[Text] Supreme Command of the Armed Forces, distinguished guests, dear congressmen, and brothers:

I am here to thank the distinguished officials who have come from afar to express their solidarity with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] at its seventh ordinary congress. I am also here to thank all the delegates for their effort in coming from afar. Some of them walked for more than two months in order to be here. I would also like to thank our representatives abroad who have promptly responded to our movement's call. I wish to thank in particular those who have worked resolutely to create the minimum working conditions.

Finally, I would also like to thank the Catholic and Protestant churches for having agreed to open this seventh congress, and for having blessed it with faith and hope.

It was very difficult to plan this seventh UNITA ordinary congress. It is being held in a very complex manner because it is a congress for change. From now on, UNITA will be faced with two different and somewhat conflicting problems. First, it will have to organize itself for peace. Second, it must ensure a clear transition of the Angolan society into a multiparty democracy, and the creation of a state of law. This includes concessions on the part of UNITA and the MPLA, as well as a revolution within our ranks, and a political revolution within our society.

It is difficult to review our structures, the [words indistinct] and the past 25 years in a seven-day meeting. We ought to do it, and it is necessary that those who have been following the peaceful and democratic process should be familiar with UNITA's own values, its long march, and the possible problems it might have in becoming a political party, as well as the reasons that led us to break with FNLA [Angola National Liberation Front] and review the then prevailing doctrines within the liberation movement.

The FNLA, of which we were part, viewed the armed struggle as the only instrument which would make the Salazar government grant independence. Like in the past, we still agree with the FNLA on this issue. We soon realized that the memorandums and letters addressed to the United Nations could not change Salazar's mind about granting independence to Angolans. There were differences between the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UPA [Union of Angolan



Peoples)/FNLA, and we couldn't [words indistinct] historic facts cannot be changed. It was FNLA which decided that the Portuguese colonial government's position would only be changed through armed struggle.

It has been written about the differences that made us break with FNLA. Like I said before, this is a congress for change and it is imperative that we tell the truth. We broke with the FNLA because whereas we believed the armed struggle was the only instrument which would make the Salazar government grant us independence, we couldn't accept that the intellectuals could not take part in the armed struggle and apply theory to practice with the enthusiasm posed by the real difficulties of an armed struggle.

We decided to break with the FNLA so that we could wage the armed struggle ourselves. We opposed the idea of asking somebody else's children to fight while the leaders who lived abroad would claim responsibility for any victories during the armed struggle. We wanted intellectuals to carry their weapons in the bush.

Likewise, we wanted to do away with the idea of foreign sanctuaries because by and large these sanctuaries curbed the freedom of the liberation movements. The latter were either pressured by the host countries, or used elsewhere to serve (other) interests.

The third principle, which we still observe today, is self-reliance. However, we sought to forge alliances wherever possible.

The comrades who have been with me from the outset are here in this hall. They include the secretary general, Da Costa [applause], Mulato, Zeferino (Swawenda), (Siuka), (Kusia), (Kulunga), and (Swale). Who else? Others include (Sapulanga), and (Kata). Those who feel that they have played a role in this epic should stand up. We also have (Kandanga), Cantiflas, Vicente, Ezarina, Catarina, Domingos Marcos, old (Siruto). Who else? So, stand up.

This serves to illustrate the complex situation involving the transformation of UNITA into a political party. So, UNITA was not born as a political party, but as a military force with a political outlook. These few people here, including the women, fought with arms in their hands. From the experience we had with FNLA, we believed that only the armed struggle would free Angola from colonial yoke. We used guerrilla tactics as the basis of our philosophy of combat. Please sit down. [applause]

Most of those who have stood up have taken part in the armed struggle. General (Kulunga) right here is perhaps one of the eldest in our war. When we were negotiating to end the conflict in Alvor in January 1975, Vitor Alves, a member of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement, MFA, said that he felt very sorry as we were marking the end of hostilities. As a commander stationed in [name indistinct] he said he regretted the death of Francisco (Kulunga). However, (Kulunga) is still alive. [applause]

The fact is that (Kulunga) used to put notes inside the pockets of all his men, with the words, My name is Francisco (Kulunga). So, when the Portuguese soldiers killed one soldier, they would say, Francisco (Kulunga) is dead.

At the fifth congress we decided that older members of the Armed Forces should be put on reserve. That was the case with Francisco (Kulunga). He reacted strongly, saying he would never be put on reserve as long as the struggle against the Russians and Cubans was still going on. [applause]

We are not professional soldiers, but soldiers of a just cause. We have taken up arms as an imperative. We have been carrying a weapon and fighting for 25 years. We think politically in order to find the best way of fighting. We are the ones who will have major difficulties in calling for rapid and necessary change. We in the leadership, believe that the armed struggle is over. Although there are a few skirmishes here and there, UNITA's spiritual and philosophical standpoint is that the war is over. There is no longer any justification for the war. [applause]

I arrived here late because I was in touch with the war fronts. I don't want to create panic among you, but the MiG's are looking for you even at this hour. They began bombing on Saturday [9 March], and continued on Sunday, and Monday. They are still bombing today. I had to be in touch with the commanders in order to learn about the enemy's intentions. So, we have asked journalists to be careful with their reports, and comply with our guidelines.

As I said, from a philosophical and spiritual standpoint the war is over, and there is no longer any justification for the war. However, the war is still in its final stages. March and April are months of torrential rains in Angola. The situation in Cuando Cubango is different. However, it rains more at the end of the rainy season. So, the ongoing skirmishes between the MPLA and UNITA could reach serious proportions in some regions. Yet, for us this is nothing but the beginning of the end. That is, the torrential rains of a season about to end.

I would like to assure the congressmen, guests, and journalists that the Angolan war is effectively over, and is no longer justified. [applause]

The war against colonialism gave us experience about danger. It provided us with the basis for the struggle we wage now, we have been living in permanent danger of being annihilated. This sense of permanent defense has created in our midst a sharp sense of unity, cohesion, as well as mistrust. UNITA looks at every problem with mistrust and great wariness.

Therefore, we wish to state that we are negotiating in good faith. We say that the war is spiritually over, but we haven't stopped being mistrustful and wary. For 25 years now we have experienced the danger of being annihilated. We are responsible for the women and children

who [words indistinct] because if they had faith in us, they also wanted the right to survive, and have a say about this land that belong to all of us. [applause]

Will our delegation, headed by Vice President Engineer Jeremias Chitunda, leave for the Lisbon talks with instructions based on mistrust? No. The delegation will leave for Lisbon with an open heart for a sincere meeting among Angolans. However, we will take the lessons of the past into consideration in order not to be overconfident. We will look for guarantees that the negotiating process will be honest and honorable so that the Angolan people may reap something for their well-being. During the struggle, UNITA established a [word indistinct] force but this does not in any way mean that [words indistinct].

What is more, we learned to (?foresee) danger. We learned to (?foresee) danger constantly. When we were planning our seventh congress, we knew that we were in danger. When we are gathered as we are today we know that we are in danger. We have to work in a state of insecurity constantly until we achieve peace. Accordingly, we are vigilant. We accept the risk of transforming our organization into a political party and accepting the establishment of a single national army. We are not afraid of these risks. On the contrary, they represent a challenge. They represent a challenge which we are ready to confront. We are ready to face this challenge as we faced colonialism in 1966 almost without war materiel and moved slowly but surely until now. [applause]

Many observers were wrong about UNITA [words indistinct]. You yourselves know what UNITA is. You know that UNITA was founded as a military force. It grew up as a military force. It became consolidated as a military force. However, for the good of the Angolan people, UNITA [words indistinct] as a political force. [sentence indistinct]. Only the MPLA was founded as a party, as a political movement. As for the FNLA [Angola National Liberation Front] [words indistinct] the armed struggle. I can also say here safely that that the MPLA has always had difficulties in adapting itself to the military struggle, even at this particular period, despite its MIGs and tanks. It has been difficult to demonstrate on the battlefield that it was a military power. What does this mean?

In the present phase, the MPLA will benefit from certain advantages because it has always been a politically inspired and motivated organization, whereas we have always been guided by our political thought but with emphasis on the armed struggle. That's an advantage over us. However, the MPLA's advantage over UNITA will be naturally (?remedied) because our struggle has created cohesion, discipline, and the capacity to adapt to new situations, and has given us the patience of peasants. [applause]

Our cohesion will not fail us. The experience that we acquired [words indistinct] will enable us to solidly maintain our unity. The few people I was able to introduce here are the survivors of a long (?struggle).

Our cohesion does not originate from compulsion. It originates from a need to (?survive). If there is anything I shall be worried about if UNITA becomes a political party is discipline. Our armed forces' discipline is an irreplaceable instrument.

Our men and women are found in Cabinda, Zaire—I mean the Province of Zaire in Angola—, Uige, Malanje, Luanda, Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul, Bie, Huambo, Namibe or Mocamedes. However, they have their command based in Jamba and they all scrupulously carry out our instructions. [applause] Our soldiers are almost independent because they find war materiel and food wherever they are. Our soldiers do not desert to the other side. When we become a political force, we shall miss the discipline that we now possess. Accordingly, we need to carry with us our spirit of discipline to the political field. Our cohesion and discipline enabled us to victoriously overcome all obstacles during the 25 years of struggle. [applause]

What is more, we have immense capacity to adapt. Everytime we faced danger [words indistinct] to accept the danger and the change, no matter how difficult this was, and follow a (?new course). [Words indistinct] seventh congress, abandoning the armed struggle [words indistinct] discipline, so that UNITA can fulfill its promise to bring about freedom and [words indistinct] for the oppressed people. [applause] [Words indistinct] from the leadership of our movement, from the armed forces leadership in order to once again accept this as a necessary change. We shall not lose anything. Perhaps, we may theoretically lose our armed strength. However, in practice, we shall begin to have a political strength, placing us side by side with the MPLA, and the Angolan people will decide who is [word indistinct]. [applause]

How many times have reports from the press, radio, television and from those who consider themselves wisemen and experts on Angola been proved wrong? So many times they said UNITA is finished, UNITA is dead. However, as I pointed out earlier, each historian has his Alexander the Great. Likewise, each (?struggle has its UNITA). As for our UNITA, the true UNITA, the struggle is over. UNITA has become stronger through difficulties and now we shall have to adapt to the new situation in order to equally prove that we are still strong [words indistinct]. [applause]

If we correctly examine the situation of current negotiations, it is only UNITA that can provide peace. Only UNITA can provide peace. However, our armed forces [words indistinct]. Only UNITA can provide peace. No one else can. The plans drawn up by the MPLA were not aimed at achieving peace. They could not provide peace. They were aimed at eliminating UNITA. However, now, UNITA is ready to provide peace. No one else can. [applause]

[Sentence indistinct] I have come to this congress firmly determined to tell [words indistinct], to tell my colleagues, and the international community that my voice

in UNITA and the armed forces is an authorized voice. I have come to say that we accept sacrifice, that we are going to provide peace. [applause]

We are going to sign a cease-fire. We want it to be an immediate cease-fire. We equally want it to be an irreversible cease-fire.

It is true that in this world there is no one who does experience pressures. Two years ago, I was saying that the only two countries that are truly nonaligned in the world are the United States and the USSR. I cannot say the same today. [Words indistinct] they are aligned with someone. Some countries are allies of the United States while others are allies of the USSR. This is even the case with (?countries possessing nuclear capability). France is in alliance with the United States. Only two countries—the United States and the USSR—were nonaligned. However, they no longer are today. I hope there are no Soviets around, because I have not come here to offend anyone.

I would say that all of us suffer some kind of pressure. Some people say that UNITA is under strong (?U.S.) pressure to sign a cease-fire. Others say UNITA is under strong South African pressure to sign a cease-fire. Let me tell you this: you heard here the U.S. Government representative saying that he had brought a letter from President Bush. It contained no pressure. Was there any pressure expressed in the letter? [audience shouts: "No"] Did the letter contain any strong pressure? [audience shouts: "No"] We shall receive the U.S. delegation late this afternoon. They will then return to the United States. The only thing I shall do will be to hand a letter to them thanking President Bush. [applause]

However, an alliance does not require compromise. An alliance does not require compromise. We can discuss with the United States and know what plans they have toward Angola, toward UNITA, and Africa [words indistinct]. If someone has an obligation to give, he can also expect [words indistinct]. If the United States has to help us, it must equally (?expect us to reciprocate). This is obvious. However, can we call this pressure?

I have just received a message from President de Klerk who told me that a delegation would arrive here on Thursday [14 March] to attend the congress. [applause]

When I talk with my American friends, not the U.S. Government but various friends, they always remind me that the Americans like winners. There is nobody who likes a loser. We all like winners. However, prudence and care during the negotiations are rigorous requirements for UNITA's own negotiating team.

It will not be the U.S. Government that will push us into making mistakes. It will not be the South African Government that will pressure us into making mistakes. There is no friendly country that will make us commit errors. We (?will) never make mistakes if we [words

indistinct] for patriotic reasons and because of moral imperatives, we are willing to accept and sign a cease-fire agreement.

We have already made a number of concessions: We recognized President Jose Eduardo dos Santos as head of state of Angola during the period of transition up to the elections. We recognized the MPLA government for the period of transition. We abdicated the normal and legitimate demand that we take part in the government of transition. We accept the creation of a single national army. We gave up the legitimate demand of explicit recognition from the MPLA in exchange for our own explicit recognition. These are all concessions UNITA has made to make negotiations viable.

Well, there is something about which we are not prepared to make any concessions and that is the date of internationally supervised free and fair elections. [applause]

We do really want free elections. We will not manipulate and we do not want the MPLA to manipulate us. The enthusiasm of militants in each of the parties may lead to electoral maneuvers. However, the UNITA leadership wants to give the guarantee here, at the seventh congress, that we will not manipulate but we will also not allow anyone to manipulate us. The MPLA's peace plan includes nine points: The plan of (?amnesty); the plan of integration; in a nutshell, it was the plan for the elimination of the Angolan political scene. That elimination plan was not just of a political nature [words indistinct] my own life is still at risk. However, I am not afraid of the MPLA. [applause]

Our handshake on 22 June 1989 also had a few positive aspects in that it allowed me to meet President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in person. I had never met him before. However, it was not a meeting between compatriots in which [words indistinct] public meeting. There was no need for proof [words indistinct] still wanted evidence of a crime. Is this what you would call a meeting between compatriots? Is this desirable? (?To avoid) evidence? If you seek to avoid leaving evidence that is because you are preparing to commit a crime. No one wanted to have proof. Not even the journalists wanted it [words indistinct] however, is it not a victory for UNITA and its allies that, from a plan of exile [words indistinct] today we are holding regular talks and jointly seeking the paths for peace and democracy? Is this not a victory? [applause]

Who has the force at the moment?

Long live the seventh UNITA Congress! [Crowd responds: Long live General Savimbi!]

I really hope that we will be able to meet our compatriots and brothers on the other side on the basis of honesty. We are only [words indistinct] UNITA and the MPLA together do not represent all Angolan people. We only represent an instrument, the negative instrument of war that we (?can) transform into a positive instrument for



peace and [word indistinct] there are (?rich people) but there are also opportunities. The [word indistinct] is a major opportunity for the Angolan people. It is possible that the militants on the other side, who have called us puppets, terrorists, and bandits might one day call us (?dignified and just). However, that is not the position [words indistinct] the days of the ringleaders, terrorists, and puppets will end with the end of the war. There should be no more Angolan ringleaders, terrorists or puppets if they can (?produce) a responsible individual before the national and international communities.

My colleagues are well aware of the difficulty I have had to eliminate the word ringleader from our vocabulary. It does not help anymore. Vorgan [Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel] imposes much respect but when it starts talking about ringleaders its message loses credibility [words indistinct] let us drop the insults. We have no (?deadlines). Someone who (?was once an ally of the other side) said that insults are a defeated man's last weapons.

Even when we were walking the streets of our villages and had to confront a stronger child who (?would tell us): Go away! [Words indistinct] politically, he had managed nothing. Thus, I would like to ask the UNITA leadership and the Vorgan management to revise their choice of words. We can continue criticizing the MPLA government's programs. That is in fact [words indistinct] that is exactly why we have Vorgan. But there must be no more talk of ringleaders, also because you are now faced with [words indistinct] I have never called anybody a ringleader. However, I [words indistinct] we look bad now because Miguel Trovoada, the eminent president-elect of Sao Tome and Principe, is my friend and he asks: What will you call me now in Sao Tome? [applause]

This just does not work.

We are going to begin adapting now. Time does not forgive. (?Facts) do not forgive, either. If our friends who won the elections in Sao Tome hear us referring to Sao Tome in a derogatory way, that will not look good. The same thing applies to the word ringleader. Why do we not simply eliminate all those words?

[Words indistinct] we now have the program of the government, which is extremely vulnerable. (?It is) the MPLA government's political and economic program.

I hope that, after having made all those concessions, including the cease-fire concession, there will be an internal Angolan political force, an African political force, and an international force to make the MPLA agree on the date elections are to be held. Let there be no more pointless discussions, like what happened last time. Let there be no more shoves. We get to Lisbon either at the end of March or at the beginning of April and we are in agreement: UNITA will sign the cease-fire. But the MPLA must also state: Elections will be held within one year and that is it! [applause]

We still have many complex problems that we have to discuss, notably the process of transition itself, the electoral law, and the law on the parties. We have so much to discuss. Why must the process run aground on account of those differences? The war is over. I am very sorry about those kids who are wandering about, quite lost, and who do not know where we are. I am very sorry. It is a useless task. They only waste gasoline and wear their equipment out. I am very sorry, but the war is over. The enemy does not attack anymore. Its heart is not in it anymore.

Why are we going to arrive in Lisbon as Angolans, we [words indistinct] the Portuguese mediators and the U.S. and USSR observers that we are mature Angolans who accept risks [words indistinct] cease-fire and date of the elections. [applause]

In order to guarantee Angola's transition to a multiparty democracy (?based on the law), there is one first responsibility that lies with the Portuguese Government, the Portuguese political parties, and the Portuguese people: I am happy to say that Portugal's biggest parties are represented at our Seventh Congress. I would like to thank you for having come out here. [applause]

In the current situation, mediation is no longer the sole responsibility of the Portuguese (?Government). It is now the responsibility of Portugal and of all Portuguese people. [applause]

Angola is not just any old country. Instead, it is a country with its own weight within the African regional context, the African context, in its relations with Portugal, and in the international context. Our country has some standing and, for that very reason, we sincerely hope that the first Alvor Accord will not be repeated. We are going to work with the Portuguese political forces, the Portuguese public, and the Portuguese mediators to ensure that that will not happen. It is possible now that things might turn out for the best. There may be small pressures and difficulties but we should be careful to avoid being derailed into a second Alvor.

We are working in various commissions. I want the seventh congress to support and give a vote of confidence to the Portuguese mediation so that the process can be accelerated. Portuguese parties that are not in the government, notably the Socialist Party and the CDS [Socialist Democratic Center Party], must share that same responsibility, because the failure of negotiations in Portugal will again spiritually affect relations between Angola and Portugal. Nobody, neither Portuguese nor Angolan, could be happy about the collapse of the Angolan peace talks in Portugal. All will be worthy of some merit if they contribute a little for the success of the peace talks under Portuguese mediation. Like that, there will be a future between a democratic Angola and a democratic Portugal. Let there be healthy bilateral relations!

I also want to stress the very important role played by the United States. Since the Gulf War is over, the United

States will have more time to dedicate the Angolan situation because the Gulf was diverting U.S. attention from the Angolan file. However, in all honesty, UNITA rejoiced in the Allied victory in the Gulf and we want to take this opportunity to congratulate you. [Applause]

Someone like Saddam Husayn could not continue in this world. There is somebody who respects democracy and the sovereignty of other countries. That somebody is the United States. It has a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Saddam Husayn had no option but lose and this is why we want to take this opportunity to congratulate yet again the U.S. Administration. [Applause]

This is also why we would like to ask the United States to dedicate some more time and attention to the Angolan issue. We are nearly there. There is very little left. We feel in our hearts that the war is over. It is just a matter of time. We want the Portuguese mediators and the United States not to feel discouraged. (?They) will find here jovial people, people who want to live their lives, people who have a great future, people who want to be free, people who want to be friends. Help us, Portuguese and American people, help us find a rapid solution to our problem! [applause]

It is also the responsibility of the United States to [words indistinct] the Soviets. I had the honor to meet Minister Sheverdnadze who, today [words indistinct] is no longer foreign minister but he received me well at the time. We talked very well together [words indistinct] I was very sorry, but I also only (?met) with Shevardnadze thanks to the good offices of Secretary of State Baker.

[Words indistinct] bring again the Soviets for the next meeting between the new minister and the UNITA representatives. This is necessary and desirable. [applause]

It is necessary that the Soviets cooperate. Whatever the difficulties the Soviets may be experiencing in their own country, we need Soviet cooperation in order to find a worthy solution for Angola. We agree and accept that the United States suspend the supply of weapons to UNITA once we sign the cease-fire. We accept that the United States [word indistinct] weapons to UNITA. However, we also want [words indistinct] weapons to the MPLA. The cease-fire is signed. The United States stops supplying weapons to UNITA. We are fully in agreement with that. However, let us also make sure that the Soviet Union will stop giving weapons to the MPLA. That is the only way to [words indistinct] so that the MPLA does not exploit an advantage that it does not have on the battlefield.

The period of transition is [word indistinct] because we do not know exactly what the decision making powers the joint political and military commission will have. Our negotiators and the MPLA will have to reach agreement so that powers connected with the negotiation process be fully transferred to [word indistinct] or then the MPLA will try to (?rule) when the electoral process

states it in the face. Obviously, the MPLA will try to use its own administration to [words indistinct] and manipulate. That would be neither an honest nor an acceptable procedure. The period of transition is as critical as the upcoming elections. It will depend on the Portuguese mediators, observers from the United States and the Soviet Union, and our negotiators must pay close attention to this problem. Transition is a most important stage. How will Angola be governed up to the elections?

It has been said—I am here to publicly deny those claims—that UNITA would never agree to a cease-fire before the Cubans had completely withdrawn from Angola. That is not true. That is not our movement's stand. That is a problem that must be taken into consideration. It is one thing to condition a cease-fire accord to the complete withdrawal of the Cuban forces; it is another thing [words indistinct] problem, because the Cubans will ultimately leave Luanda and in Luanda we will open a (?branch). How could the UNITA men feel safe in Luanda with armed Cubans hanging about?

This is one of our concerns but not one of our conditions. The total withdrawal of the Cuban forces is in no way pegged to the signing of the cease-fire. It is a concern, that is all. It is also necessary that we begin talking with other Angolan political (?groups). Claims that we do not want multipartyism but [word indistinct] are false [words indistinct] of the MPLA, but that is not true. We even made the concession that they do not recognize us alone, just to reciprocate our recognition, but that the MPLA also recognize other parties. We have every intention to get in touch with all Angolan political forces [words indistinct] and perhaps this will be a surprise, even though I am not here to surprise you. I am here to tell you about the outcome of prolonged consultations within the UNITA leadership. We will also hold talks with all groups [words indistinct] everybody. FLEC [Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave], (FLEC-PM) [expansion unknown], (FLEC-ZITA), we will talk with all of them. This is a problem that concerns Angola. Nobody must be left out.

We are also willing to hold talks with the real FNLA led by President Holden Roberto. We are willing to do that. At the end of the congress, our Paris representative will receive instructions to talk with FNLA President Holden Roberto. The Angolans must meet. UNITA is in a privileged position: We do not have to fear anything else. [applause]

Thus, we want clarity in our elections. I am going to quote what Portuguese President Dr. Mario Soares said about democracy on 13 December 1974: Will it be a popular democracy if one party leads and the rest are satellite parties? If that is the case, we must say right now that that kind of democracy does not serve our interests. If elections are free they are a direct demonstration of the people's will. To democrats, it is the only way to legitimize power.

This applied to the Portuguese and this applies to the Angolans. [applause]

A long period until the holding of elections will place much at risk. It endangers the cease-fire. People may grow impatient. The soldiers may grow impatient. The position of the UN international observers ... [pauses, changes thought] the period of their stay in Angola must be determined. The costs of that operation must also be defined. We shall be flexible because we are aware of the problems. However, we will not agree to a three-year waiting period. Whoever wants to hold elections in three years from now simply does not want to hold any elections. Yes or no? [Crowd responds: Yes!]

Whoever asks for a three-year waiting period does not want any elections. We must rapidly end all these pains. The conflict must cease, the elections take place, and a government freely elected, and that's it! The government exists and we must trust it. An election is like a credit card. The people give their credit, they say: Let's try it out! (?If) [words indistinct] fails to deliver, you are in debt, in absolute debt. This is it: We must resolve all our problems with the Angolan people's agreement and support. We must do it with a credit card and we must do it rapidly. Why must we continue creating difficulties?

Cease-fire, elections, and the Angolan people must all place their trust on the chosen government. What is demanded from the Angolan people is that they make a conscious choice, because it will be their first democratic choice, so that we can demand from all officials a corresponding performance. [applause]

(?Let us look) at the law on the parties that the MPLA is drawing up. It requires our viewpoint. We are political persons and the MPLA is making that law for us too. We are not going to be caught pants down by a law against our interests. We must look at that law. What guarantees does that law offer us? We demand physical security. What is the MPLA doing at the moment? Kundi Paiama's Security Ministry has theoretically been dissolved. The Internal Administration Ministry is formed but DISA [Directorate of Intelligence and Security of Angola], Minse [Ministry of State Security], (?DEP) [Department of Political Education], and ODP [People's Defense Organization] all fall under the same ministry [words indistinct] everything. We want a guarantee. How are we going to work?

The other day, I heard a leader of the Mozambican opposition saying on the radio that he did not know why he was talking to the Voice of America because the next day he might be alive or he might be dead. Well, I do not want (?to work) under such conditions. No, I am not interested if after a 25-year-long struggle I am still sleeping in the hotel and I do not know whether I will be leaving through the window or in a coffin. I am not interested in that. That law on the parties must give us guarantees. We have to be [word indistinct] we want guarantees.

It will take time to rebuild Angola. It will demand a joint effort from the Angolan people. It is for that very reason that the future leaders of Angola need the people's voluntary support. I still think that we have to rehabilitate the Angolan man and (?release) him of his traumas. We have had the opportunity to visit certain villages. The Angolan man is [words indistinct] and morally he has been shot down. We must first rehabilitate the Angolan man so that he can give his support to the upcoming democratic government. Of all the capital that we could possibly wish, notably capital from the United States, France, England, South Africa, and the FRG, the only capital that does not fail us is the Angolan man himself. He is the only one who does not fail us. [applause]

UNITA is willing to lay all its cards on the table. We don't want to keep any aces up our sleeves. The vice president will lay all his cards on the table when he meets the MPLA. However, we first want guarantees that the MPLA will act accordingly. I intend to lay all my cards on the table in the presence of the Portuguese mediator and the U.S. and Soviet observers. So, we will have to wear short-sleeve shirts. No long-sleeve shirts will be allowed otherwise the MPLA will keep an ace up their sleeves. [applause] Likewise, we won't accept rolled up sleeves. Therefore, first we must have guarantees that the MPLA has the same intentions. When the MPLA lays its cards on the table we will ask the Portuguese mediator whether the MPLA dropped any cards on the floor. We will definitely lay all the cards on the table. [applause]

The MPLA has been setting up political parties. We are not at all worried. This is part of the political game.

I would also like to tell Congress that we are not bothered by these reports of dissent within UNITA. Why? Because we are FNLA dissidents. President Kaunda's UNIP [United National Independence Party] is a dissident faction of Nkumbula's ANC [African National Congress]. Robert Mugabe's ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union] is a dissident faction of ZAPU [Zimbabwe African People's Union].

So, there are no problems. Dissent is part and parcel of the general political movement. We are not worried about that. It is a normal thing to have dissent. Even those who are in power [words indistinct]. UNITA is not worried about any dissident faction. It's normal. The MPLA wishes to create dissent, but it should do so normally. That is fair play. We will seize the opportunity if we realize that there is dissent within the MPLA.

So far, our foundations have never been shaken, probably because we are used to being slandered constantly. It is claimed that those who join our struggle are PIDE [International Police for the Defense of the State] agents. They say that we have to rely on South African aid in order to survive, and that we have made a pact with the devil. So, we are used to it, whatever the colors with which they wish to paint us.



Those who are still determined to belittle UNITA know that this only serves to strengthen our resolve. Tomorrow it will be 25 years since we founded UNITA in Muangai. [applause] When Tony da Costa Fernandes and I thought about creating UNITA, we were young intellectuals who believed that things were not right in the FNLA. We used to say maningue [vernacular word meaning very] old. One thing was certain, we didn't want to establish a party outside Angola. Nobody would call himself a president and issue communiques from abroad. The idea was to go inside Angola and fight there. The movement was officially established in Muangai in 1966. It will be 25 years old tomorrow. [applause]

Now, I would like to address the Congress about this question of people claiming that there is a cult of personality here. I don't need it. What I cannot do is to pull my photograph from wherever it is hanging. I have never asked a child nor an ordinary UNITA militant to hang my photograph. [applause] However, I am aware of my own values. I am an Angolan who is fighting in Angola. If I were a Portuguese fighting in Portugal, I would have been known as well. If I were an American fighting in the United States, I would have been somebody. The same would apply if I were French or Belgian. [applause]

Congressmen and comrades, don't you think that I have thought a lot about my life? I come from a poor home. Mine was a united and honest family. I rose up my own ladder. My mother, who was born here and is buried here, was not illiterate. However, she didn't even do standard four [ayyend penultimate year of primary school]. My father was a brilliant and great man, but today I have no money. Nobody can say that I have a bank account. UNITA will never say that. [applause] I don't need money. I have got capital and I have worked for it. Nowadays I am known. Even Radio Moscow no longer calls me a terrorist. [applause] Why would I need to display more photographs? That would compromise me. We even discussed this during the preparations for this congress. I told them that I have never promoted my image, not even when fighting my opponents.

In France, during the war, everybody was a Gaullist. Even the communists were Gaullists. Afterward, the situation changed.

When the palace wanted to give him a title, King Frederick II of Prussia said: My name is enough.

I don't need the title of general, guide, or any other title. My name is Savimbi and that's enough. I have done my share, and it wasn't little. I want to tell you that I intend to carry on. [applause]

There are those who say, and I even read it in a book, that Savimbi keeps his movement united with an iron fist. This is a contradiction in terms. People often claim that African movements vanish quickly, and are destroyed by their own leaders. Then they say: These Africans are worthless. Today they create something simply to destroy it soon afterward. However, if there is

a solid movement, they say it's because unity is kept with an iron fist. So, where do they stand?

As a Protestant and without wishing to offend anyone, I would like to quote from rebel Martin Luther: What can only be taught by the rod and with blows will not lead to much good; they will not remain pious any longer than the rod is behind them.

So, if one needs to teach people with blows, the first thing they will do is leave. Second, once they leave, they will no longer do anything for UNITA. I want to assure you that UNITA's men have been doing something for UNITA because they believe in what they are doing. [applause]

As I said previously, UNITA will acquire a political outlook. As a historic imperative, we will adapt our political structures. I can give you an idea of what we intend to do. We will keep the Congress as the supreme organ of our structure. It will meet every four years. We will keep the Central Committee, but it will lose its powers. The Central Committee will meet every two years, and it will only have a consultative role. It will represent various interests, namely religious, political, and economic which will be appointed to the Central Committee.

UNITA's decision-making powers will be transferred to the Political Commission. It will be a new organ which will define UNITA's policies, guide the executive organ, correct deviations, and adopt policies. At the end of the Congress, the powers of the Central Committee will be transferred to the Political Commission.

We will also create an Executive Committee. It will include everyone who holds a portfolio. We call someone who is in fact a minister, a secretary. Even pastors are ministers. In order to avoid problems, we call them health secretaries, but for us they are ministers of health.

The Executive Committee will be UNITA's government. It is not exactly a shadow government. We don't want a shadow government. This is a government-in-waiting. [applause]

We will maintain the Political Bureau, but its powers have been eroded. The Political Bureau is an organ which will only advise the president.

So, the Congress will retain its powers. The Central Committee has lost its powers. The Political Commission has gained all powers that used to be in the hands of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. The Executive Committee consists of portfolio holders who execute UNITA's policies. The Political Bureau will be a consultative organ for the party's chairman. Of necessity the members of the Political Commission will be members of the Central Committee. The Political Commission will draw its members from the Central Committee. The members of the Executive Committee are not necessarily members of the Political Commission. There could be members who belong to both the Executive



Committee and the Political Commission. However, the basic idea is that members of the Executive Committee will not be members of the Political Commission. The Political Commission will hold political and decision-making powers.

I have already dealt with the Political Bureau. The president will call upon Political Bureau members with good qualities to deal with the policy to be proposed to the Political Commission. The latter meets whenever necessary.

The Executive Committee is like a government. It will be headed by a leader, and will implement the policy approved by the Political Commission.

The president will convene the Political Bureau whenever necessary.

It's unfair [words indistinct] we want to find a solution with the MPLA. Honestly, I dislike the Eduardo dos Santos leadership. I cannot accept that someone is dismissed today and reappointed tomorrow. There is no point in dismissing people in the first place. Eduardo dos Santos dismissed the defense minister because of Mavinga. They discussed this at the Congress. Mavinga cost Pedale his job. However, soon afterward Pedale was in charge of defense.

So, there is no point in dismissing people. If I fully trust my colleagues in the Political Commission or the Executive Committee, we will proceed with what has been agreed.

I have already proposed to the ad hoc Political Commission that we should revise our constitution on the basis of my report to the Congress. I will accept the views of my colleagues in the Political Commission if they have a better idea. My policy is as follows: I make a proposal, and anyone can try to defeat it. Likewise, anyone can propose new ideas and try to get them (?approved). I refuse to debate [words indistinct] ideas. Those who disagree with an idea, should come up with alternate suggestions.

It's difficult to lead men. It's not every Tuesday like today [12 March] that men express their confidence in politicians. Often, they do it on a Tuesday and then withdraw their support on Wednesday.

The Armed Forces will work with us. Over the years, we acquired enough credibility among the Armed Forces that they do not mistrust us and don't think we will sell them out. We have fought together. We have carried [words indistinct] on our shoulders. The Armed Forces know that when we give them a target it is for the good of the Armed Forces and UNITA, and, above all, the good of all the Angolan people. [applause]

There are those who will remain in the ranks of the Armed Forces. The creation of a single army is a complex issue. Sections of our Armed Forces will be discontinued. Some people will remain in the Armed Forces ranks. It's not? a question of numbers. We will discuss it

with the MPLA in order to determine what part of the Armed Forces can be used and what UNITA has to offer.

The MPLA has professionals among its higher echelons, but none in its army. I (?am in a position to say this) because I have fought against that army. The senior cadres trained in the USSR and Cuba have something to offer, but the Armed Forces members have nothing to offer.

It would be a mistake to entrust the defense of Angola to FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] troops. We refuse to accept an Air Force which is out looking for us, or a Navy whose chief is in jail. We ought to be realistic and consider what the MPLA has to offer, but we cannot accept the FAPLA defending Angola. We will use whatever they have to offer.

There is a serious problem, however, to which I want to draw the attention of Congress. I cannot assume a position on the Armed Forces issue unless it is a conscientious position, one that I can implement. The danger is not in those who will form the embryo of the future national Armed Forces. The danger lies with those who will remain outside. What will they do? They are comrades in arms who have been with us for as much as 16 to 25 years. Shall we tell them: Thank you very much, my dear sir. Pass my regards to your mother and father. We cannot do that.

In February I toured military areas and spoke to soldiers and officers. It's necessary to give guarantees to those who will not join the new Army. There should be a socioeconomic program to provide professional training so that those who have made their contribution or have become crippled should enjoy the benefits and acquire skills to enjoy their right to life in Angola.

The MPLA can do whatever it wishes with its military personnel. The MPLA is coercing people in Lobito streets and training them in Menongue. Thereafter, they are sent to Cabinda under cover of darkness. However, this will not happen to my troops. I agree with the creation of a single national army. There will be those who will join this army. However, the entire UNITA and Armed Forces leadership has a sacred moral duty to guarantee those who do not join the Armed Forces are provided with skills. [applause]

The MPLA has been claiming at every turn that there is danger of an attack on Angola or a threat to Angolan territorial integrity during the transition period. That's not true. They have said very softly that Zaire will be the country that will attack. That's not true. The Republic of Zaire doesn't want to attack anyone.

The Portuguese mediator as well as the U.S. and USSR Governments should tell the MPLA that there is no such danger. In fact, it's a pretext that the MPLA is using so that it may keep a section of its Armed Forces intact for defending Angola from a hypothetical invasion. Nobody wants to invade Angola. Namibia, Zambia, Congo, and Zaire do not want to invade Angola.

When we create an army we ought to be not only crystal clear but also honest. I believe that an army takes a long time to form. UNITA took 15 years to form its army with total cooperation from South Africa. Today we have an army of which every UNITA militant ought to be proud. [applause] An army cannot be formed in 12 months, not even in three years. So, we should create the embryo of the future national army. An embryo can be created in 12 months, and the government-elect will be in charge of completing the creation of a national army. That is my position. [applause]

There are several proposals. We didn't know about it, but the United Nations [words indistinct] has never formed an army. The United Nations provides personnel to verify cease-fires and elections. However, it is necessary that the sides, that is, the MPLA and UNITA, invite a country or countries to form an army.

Portugal is one of the candidates. I will not elaborate on UNITA's policy on this issue. I have already said that Congress will approve a motion in support of the Portuguese mediation. This is one issue, and the formation of the army is another.

England is another candidate. I regard England as the country with the best armed forces structure. We, in UNITA, would like Morocco to be another candidate because our officers have been trained there. So, we can choose from among Portugal, England, and Morocco.

Now, an agreement between UNITA and the MPLA is necessary. I don't think the selection of a country or countries should be the responsibility of the mediator. This is the sole prerogative of Angolans. The MPLA and UNITA are the ones who must select the country, and we have to agree on this. [applause]

In 1989, UNITA scored many victories. First, we upset the MPLA's peace plan. We had the [words indistinct] because when the issue of exile was raised, we [words indistinct] the meeting of African countries in Zimbabwe condemned us. The resolution of the Zimbabwe conference said that Savimbi should report to the heads of state in Kinshasa on 18 September. We were afraid of that. So, an individual had to [words indistinct] we had to seek refuge in Abidjan. We arrived at President Houphouet's home and told him: We are not leaving this place. As the eldest leader, you must not let us go.

Do you think it was easy? It was difficult. We had to run away because we thought that there was not enough security here in the free territory. You should realize that there were no guarantees right here where we were fighting. African countries claimed that we were mischievous. They wanted us to sign a contract in the presence of the heads of state on 18 September. For us it was a crisis. So, we went to see the eldest leader and asked him not to force us to go. He asked: What's going on? We said: Our lives are in danger. [laughter among the audience]

When the U.S. ambassador came to see us, we told him: We need protection. [preceding three words in English] [laughter from audience]

We said: We need protection, to anyone who came to see us at home. We did not leave President Houphouet. We were at his house in the morning and in the evening, and asked him to give us his protection. In the end he asked: So, what do you want me to do? We told him: Don't force us to leave. He then asked: Is there any danger at all? We said, yes. Afterward he said: As the eldest leader of Africa, I cannot make you go. [applause]

If we had not played this card I can assure you that the seventh congress would not have been taking place here. We would have vanished. It was due to the protection from old Houphouet, but we were the ones who asked for it. [applause]

In Umbundu we say: [sentence in Umbundu] When two young people are fighting, one of them will seek the protection of an older person. He will not surrender that one who sought protection. That's our tradition. President Boigny complied fully with the African tradition when he said: Let these men stay here. [applause]

However, the nine-point peace plan is no longer there. Today we have the respect of the African countries. [applause]

I would like to express my appreciation for the manner in which Dr. Joao Soares [son of Portuguese President Mario Soares] said in his speech that the Portuguese belong to Europe. I fully agree with that. Angola belongs to Africa.

For we Angolans, Africa cannot be taken from our hearts. We belong to this continent. [applause] When we went to Nigeria, the most important African country, we were received by President Babangida. We felt that UNITA had been rehabilitated in the eyes of a continent in which we were born, and where we want to stay. [applause]

When I was in Senegal a few days ago...[pause] There was something that was not right. Philosophically, we grew together with President Leopold Sedar Senghor. UNITA's relations with Senegal had gone sour. We could not go to Senegal. Honorio, our representative there, carried on sending letters to every leader. We were apart for eight years. It was hard for us. We went to Senegal and were well received by President Abdou Diouf. [applause]

We went to Cameroon and were well received by President Paul Biya. [applause]

We were permanent visitors to Togolese President Eyadema. [applause]

Our rotating basis is in Abidjan. [applause] Now we can say that I am a frequent visitor to President Mobutu. [applause] We could not say that before. We used to enter and leave the country at night. The airplane had to

land after 1000 and depart before 0400. We were men of darkness, though we were not witchdoctors. [laughter among audience] However, nowadays we arrive in Kinshasa in daylight and have the television at our disposal. [applause]

We don't need to ask permission from the president of Ivory Coast. We call our friend (Namekay). He is here somewhere. He is a television man, and he will ensure that (the news) is broadcast at once.

UNITA has been rehabilitated in Africa. [applause] One of our gains is that we are no longer isolated in our continent.

We have consolidated our relations with the United States. You heard the message sent by President Bush. [applause] The United States is a very important country in the world today. It's true that the United States will not sacrifice its position because of UNITA, but if UNITA is careful, prudent, and fulfills its mission, the United States will be on our side. [applause]

I announced that we will receive a South African representative who will also deliver an encouraging message to Congress. MPLA propaganda says that we are receiving more weapons from South Africa. That's a lie. President de Klerk's philosophy is not based on the supply of weapons. However, he remains our friend. [applause] UNITA is not ashamed of having had links with South Africa. It was necessary, otherwise we wouldn't be here today. It was imperative, otherwise we would have died. [applause]

It's also our duty to acknowledge that President de Klerk is doing his best to end apartheid. This is a problem both of South Africa and UNITA because we were allies and were treated alike. Isn't that correct? [Voices from audience: "Yes"] So, President de Klerk's reforms are beneficial not only to South Africa, but UNITA itself, and Africa as well. [applause]

Everybody likes to give lessons. They say that the South Africans are killing each other because (they are blacks), [words indistinct] are worthless. We don't know their problems. They are only equating South Africa's problems on the basis of Xhosas and Zulus. That's not correct. We only hope that Dr. Mandela, Buthelezi, and other leaders will come to an agreement. However, we cannot do anything. We don't know their problems. Let us not pretend to be know-it-alls. Theirs is a very complex problem, but all white, black, and Asian leaders should find a solution because South Africa is an important country to our region. [applause]

We have been defending democracy since 1975. There were those who said it was impossible to have democracy because Africa could not be governed under a democratic system. Today democracy is taking root in the Ivory Coast, Zaire, Zambia, Benin, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Togo. After all, democracy is possible. In 1975, when we said that there would not be reconciliation in Angola without elections, they said we

were mad. However, today the true reconciliation of the Angolan people is necessarily linked to the holding of free and fair elections. [applause]

Europe has taken more interest in UNITA. In one or two months we will once again tour the European capitals. [applause] We have already been invited to go to Europe. I would like to go to Portugal once again, but I don't wish to complicate the negotiations. I will go after a cease-fire is signed. My visits to Portugal are not over. I will start in Oporto and end in Coimbra. I will make a private visit to Lisbon to see friends. [applause]

Another victory is that we have created a military stalemate. Accordingly, the MPLA realized that we could only understand each other through dialogue.

As I said before, Morocco is a country whose king always receives us with great respect. He is very dedicated to our cause.

Other victories include our meeting with the Soviets. Although Shevardnadze has resigned, I don't think he decided about the meeting on his own. The decision was made jointly with other Soviet leaders. This was a very important victory for us. [applause]

Regarding the peace corridors, yesterday I received a message saying that the MPLA would lift its embargo on the UN operations. If they do, we would like to congratulate the MPLA for its action. However, we were the ones who initiated the idea of the peace corridors so that international organizations could deliver their humanitarian assistance to the Angolan people. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who have assisted the Angolans, regardless of their political affiliation. They gave us food, medicines, and clothing. [applause]

Those who live by the banks of Cuando Cubango River, know that the relief aid organized by Dr. (Kantel) of the FRG arrived at a very critical moment. The delegates from Cuando Cubango know that without such aid we could have perished. Isn't that so? [Voices: "Yes"]

We hope that Angola will become free and independent so that Angolans may put their gifts of organization, work, and thrift to the test. The idea is that one day we may help other African countries in need. However, we are a truly rich country. The only thing we lack is peace. In the future, once we achieve peace, we won't require international aid. Until such time, we want to thank and encourage all those who have rescued famine-stricken Angolans. [applause]

We have benefitted equally from U.S. and Soviet involvement, together with Portugal, in mediation of the Angolan conflict. Portugal possesses all the goodwill. Portugal has knowledge of the conflict. However it lacks the material means to exercise pressure. Only the USSR and the United are in a position to exercise pressure. This is the pressure I referred to earlier but to which I have never been subjected. U.S. and Soviet involvement



was necessary to have the peace process concluded. This was one of our victories as well. [applause]

Congressmen, comrades, invited guests: What do we want to do with a new and democratic Angola?

First, we would to clearly define who is an Angolan. There has been a lot of confusion, a lot of speculation. We hear people say that UNITA is against half-castes. We want to state here that that is propaganda. It is a lie.

UNITA has in its ranks blacks, half-castes, and whites. UNITA does not believe in discrimination. Angolans are all those people who believe that they are Angolans. Those who believe to be Angolans are Angolans.

Let me also remind this congress that I was the one who came up with the right definition of an Angolan. This is the definition that is contained in the MPLA Constitution today. I sent Tony (?with a message for) Dr. Mario Soares who was then the Portuguese foreign minister, because [Lucio] Lara [MPLA Central Committee member] wanted to define as Angolans only blacks and half-castes. Whites could not be Angolans. I said whites too could be Angolans. The definition of Angolans should no longer be a hypothetical question. The MPLA should no longer create hatred just to obtain political advantage. It is Lara—an important MPLA leader. I am not here to pass judgment on him but facts must be registered in history. It was Lara who wanted only blacks and half-castes to be Angolans. He did not want to include anyone else. However, we said no. Whites, blacks, and half-castes, as long as they feel that they are Angolans and can work for Angola, they are Angolans. [applause]

We would also like to define Angolan people's interests. We have vital interests. Our interests are not the same as other countries' interests. There are Portuguese interests in Angola. There are South African interests in Angola. There are neighboring countries' interests in Angola. There are probably also U.S. interests in Angola. However, our interests are vital while those of the other people are not. Angolan people's interests are vital. Without Angola we have (?nothing). Do we? [audience shouts: "No"] Are our interests equal to those of the other people? [audience shouts: "No"] Our interests are paramount. Our interests are not only economic or financial. Our interests are vital. It is either us and our Angola or nothing. [applause]

I asked during our diplomatic conference here: who defines our interests? I said it is us. It is us. We define our own interests. There is no other nation that can define our interests. No other country can define Angolan people's interests. It is only us and us alone who can define our interests. We must not only define our interests but also legitimize them, have them accepted by the international community, and accord them protection. We must do this because we are dealing with our own interests and they are vital. [applause]

Many people ask me, what am I in the Angolan political context. Well, since we are speaking a language that befits politicians from other countries, let me say that UNITA is the only organization that has very close contacts with the peasants. UNITA is the only organization that has great national solidarity with the poor. UNITA is the only organization that does not go against the interests of the poor.

Hence, UNITA would be defined as being in the center if we assume that the FNLA is on the right and the MPLA on the left. We would be in the center. We would be in the center with the MPLA on the left and the FNLA on the right. If this definition is of any interest to you, this is what we are. We would be in the center with the MPLA on the left and the FNLA on the right.

Let me say this again because it is important: There is always some minor, indirect pressure [words indistinct] being socialists. This is not fair. You want to force other people to accept what they don't want. We do not want to think that way. We came to this congress to say that we do not want to [words indistinct]. We are not just a few. Perhaps there are people who do not understand the meaning of socialism very well. They get confused and say that every socialist system is communist and Marxist-Leninist. That's not the case. We are socialists because we think that it is necessary to have an active solidarity with the poor in the country. [applause]

Let me say to you that we are not adopting a communist system but democratic socialism which is necessary and imperative for Angolans to advance forward together and not leave others lag completely behind. President Abraham Lincoln said and I quote, We shall not be assisting others if we always do for them what they could and should have done for themselves [no closing quote as heard].

Therefore, what we are saying is that if there is need for solidarity, it is equally important to teach people to take care of themselves. [applause]

Lincoln also said, and I quote, we cannot build character and courage by discouraging initiative and independence, unquote. You cannot assist the employee by eliminating the employer. Therefore, we are not saying that all people must be equal. However, we are saying that in the gap that could exist, there should be a solidarity duty. We cannot further weaken the weak. I equally agree that if all the powerful become weaker, then the weak will become weaker. [applause]

We cannot create prosperity by discouraging thrift. What is happening in our country today? We see overspending. The government does not have to give an accounting. The government has a free hand. The Angolan people must have full confidence in their leaders. However, to achieve this objective, we must teach the significance of thrift to create a prosperous country. Abraham Lincoln said what I quoted above on 19 November 1863.



We want a division of power between the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary. One bad thing about one-party system is that all these powers fall under one single party. The same party plays the role of executive, legislature, and judiciary.

We hear of a People's Assembly. When were its deputies elected and by whom? These people were appointed by the Central Committee. They do not represent people's wishes. Let me come back to Lucio Lara. I am not against this man but allow me to speak of him. Lucio Lara is deputy for Cameia here in Moxico Province. Does Lucio Lara know where Cameia is situated? Has Lucio Lara ever visited Cameia? Is that the kind of an assembly you want to have? [audience shouts: "No"] An assembly must be representative. It must represent the people's political, economic, and social interests. It is only on behalf of the people that we can speak. [applause]

We want regular elections stipulated in a constitution. We want regular elections stipulated in a constitution. For example, our feeling about the leadership is that the president should be elected for a five-year mandate and only twice. However, the MPLA wants seven years because they think that they will remain there. We cannot have a seven-year mandate. Most of our people will reject this. Five times two equals ten. Ten years are enough. After this period, one should go home and stay with grandchildren, keep chickens, and plant cabbage. [laughter, applause]

We must have an independent judiciary. The government cannot exercise pressure over courts. Courts must pass sentence on those who deserve sentencing and all citizens must be equal before the law.

We want an independent press. So far, I can say that I have been lucky with the press because I know that it is very dangerous. One must be careful. All the same, we shall have to adapt. However, I do not think that we should only have a party newspaper. I am not against UNITA or MPLA establishing their own newspapers. However, we also need to have independent newspapers that will be able not only to criticize other newspapers and journalists but also the government. Those who do not want to be criticized by the press they should not accept or seek public office. They should stay stay at home. Is that clear? [audience shouts: "Yes"]

We want to wage a fight against corruption, against (?mischief), and against black markets. We cannot accept this. We cannot say that we are going to allow black markets more time in order to allow them to conform. We shall not allow this. I shall not give black markets a single day. If UNITA is elected we shall wage fight against black markets immediately, on that very day. [applause]

If we give parallel or black markets a single day more in order to conform, they will create new mischief. There will be total war starting from the day elections are announced. [applause]

If we do not do this, then those who do not have strong shoulders will have nothing. This will not be in keeping with our socialism.

We favor a market economy that must be driven by private initiative. Normally, when people speak of private initiative, they only speak of foreign initiative. However, we refer to both foreign and Angolan private initiatives. Angolans citizens will be able to engage in private initiative if they are granted financial and other conditions. [applause]

We favor the establishment of regional economic groups for greater access to foreign investments. If one day Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Mozambique form a common economic market, we will have the power to compete with the EEC and the United States. This will provide us with good opportunities as far as international investments are concerned. [applause] So, there is no contradiction if UNITA calls for the establishment of a regional economic group. This will not conflict with anyone, including Portugal and the United States. I think that a point of conflict with all developed countries lies in disorder, corruption, and indiscipline. This (? presupposes) that [words indistinct]. However, if we do it in our own region so that we can have economic and social development, no one will object.

However, there are issues that must be reflected upon. We live in the rand monetary area. The rand has influence in this area. South Africa's economy is very strong in this area where we will [words indistinct]. We can be part of the rand monetary area, and at the same time establish a southern African economic community.

[Words indistinct] to think of the possibility of Angola belonging to the rand monetary area. [Words indistinct] tradition of relationship with France but our relationship with African countries.

Speaking of the kwanza currency, is it something to talk about? Can we still think of the kwanza? And do what with it? We shall be very offended to move about with kwanza in our pockets to wage electoral campaign. This will offend us. However, we should not only reflect on a regional group where the rand dominates, we should equally think of a [word indistinct] region, because we have Congo, Cameroon, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Togo. This block is important. I honestly think that Angola is an important country and must have a convertible currency. To have a currency that bears pictures of less known individuals who need to publicize themselves, I think is unfair. Angola does not deserve this.

Congressmen, I would now like to conclude my speech. UNITA's dream since 1966 has been to be present, participate, and accepted in Angola, our fatherland and our country. Our dream has always been to be accepted on the African continent as an equal partner. Our dream has always been to be accepted in the world as a factor of change in the African context. All men have dreams. However, it seems that sometimes history is registered

through the dreams of some. [passage indistinct] The impossible appears to be within our reach. The impossible appears to be within our reach. The impossible appears to be within our reach.

Men and women of my fatherland, the youth [words indistinct], soldiers and civilians [words indistinct] look around you. This hour is ours. As in 1966, let us follow our destiny. You are the authors of history. God be with you and thank you very much. [applause]

### General Staff Denies Savimbi's Air Raid Claims

*MB1503084991 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0600 GMT 15 Mar 91*

[Text] FAPLA's [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] General Staff yesterday refuted allegations made by the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leader that the Angolan Air Force has been bombing Jamba areas since last Saturday [9 March].

An ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] source disclosed in Luanda yesterday that Jonas Savimbi's statements made during UNITA's seventh congress on 13 March [date as heard], are nothing but diversionary and propaganda maneuvers.

### Cease-Fire To Be Concluded Within 'Fortnight'

*MB1803054891 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 18 Mar 91*

[Text] The UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement in Angola plans to conclude a cease-fire agreement with the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government within a fortnight and will propose that multiparty elections be held under international supervision before May next year. These decisions were taken at UNITA's seventh congress that was held at Kwame Nkrumah in southeastern Angola this week.

The president of UNITA, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, told foreign journalists that these decisions could bring an end to the 16-year-old civil war in Angola. Dr. Savimbi says UNITA feels so strongly about the speedy conclusion of a cease-fire that it is prepared to suspend its military operations in the capital, Luanda, and in Huambo if such an agreement is not reached before next month.

Other decisions taken by the congress include a motion of confidence in the Portuguese mediation, and appreciation and encouragement for American, and Soviet involvement in the Angolan peace process. It was also decided that the role of the United Nations in monitoring such a cease-fire was essential.

UNITA would also change from a military organization into a political movement as soon as possible. Dr. Savimbi was reelected president of UNITA.

### Relations With RSA Discussed

*MB1803090691 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0845 GMT 18 Mar 91*

[Text] Johannesburg March 17 SAPA—UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] President Dr Jonas Savimbi says the Cubans and the Soviets could have wiped out his organisation if it had not been for South Africa's [SA] help, reports SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news.

Speaking after UNITA's seventh congress at Kwame Nkrumah Base in south-eastern Angola, he said UNITA owed its continued existence to SA, and that it was not ashamed of the relationship it had with the country, the radio said.

On UNITA's latest peace initiative, he said the organisation's links with SA were in a second phase. President F.W. de Klerk's philosophy was to no longer supply arms and troops to UNITA, but to try to cooperate in finding political solutions for southern Africa.

On possible relations with the ANC [African National Congress], Dr Savimbi said ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela had indicated he wanted to meet him and that he would do so when the ANC was ready. He however said it was not a matter of life or death for UNITA to meet Mr Mandela—a meeting would take place when the time was right.

### New Kwanza's 100-Percent Devaluation Announced

*MB1603064491 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0600 GMT 16 Mar 91*

[Text] The Angolan Government yesterday announced that the new kwanza, Angola's national currency, would be devaluated by 100 percent as of Monday [18 March].

In a news conference yesterday, Finance Minister Jaime said the dollar will be worth 60 new kwanzas instead of the current 30 new kwanzas. Minister Aguinaldo Jaime announced that the government will need some time to find a balance between the new kwanza's official and black market values. The black market currently charges 750 to 800 new kwanzas for \$1.00.

This devaluation is aimed at strengthening the country's efforts to increase productivity, reduce imports, stimulate foreign investment, and adjust prices. The Angolan Government's new packet of measures includes the end of the administrative stock supply system on the basis of cards [not further specified] and the closure of shops, bars, and restaurants which operate with foreign currency.

### Prices, Wages Frozen

MB1803092891 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] The new kwanza, the Angolan currency, has just been devalued by 100 percent against the dollar within the framework of the Angolan Government's program of action. As of today, a dollar will be worth approximately 60 new kwanzas compared to 30 new kwanzas as in the past.

This is the first step that the government has taken within the framework of its new economic policy relating to the devaluation of the new kwanza. The national currency is scheduled to be devalued by 200 percent.

Despite the devaluation, the government has guaranteed that there won't be an immediate increase in the price of goods, or in salaries. Salaries were increased by 20 percent during the introduction of the new currency.

Other far-reaching social measures introduced by the country's economic directorate include the abolition of ration cards and the closure of foreign currency shops operating in various parts of the country, as well as the payment of salaries in arrears. As part of the same measures, a maximum of 100,000 new kwanzas will be paid on 21 March to those whose funds were frozen during the currency exchange operation.

### Mauritius

#### \*Mancham Warns Ramgoolam of Democratic 'Threat'

91AF0784A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
27 Feb 91 p 4

[Report on a message sent by Seychelles former President Mancham to Dr. Navin Ramgoolam, new leader of Mauritius' Labor Party; italicized passages published in English] txt

[Text] In a message of congratulations sent to Dr. Navin Ramgoolam, leader of the Labor Party and shadow prime minister, Sir James Mancham, Seychelles' former president in exile in London states that democracy is "threatened in Mauritius" from within the Mauritian government itself.

Sir James Mancham, who was overthrown in a coup d'etat by the current president, France Albert Rene, and who heads a movement of Seychellois democratic forces in exile, was quoted in "Newsflash No. 028, 25th February 1991" in the JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY FOR SEYCHELLES.

In the message to Dr. Navin Ramgoolam, Sir James Mancham recalls that Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the new Labor leader's father, "was the principal architect of a Mauritius that has remained racially tolerant and democratic to this day," according to the JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY FOR SEYCHELLES.

The message, which was sent from London the day after the Labor Party's congress, originated in the London-based Office for the Restoration of Democracy in Seychelles, an organization that maintains many connections with the British ruling circles.

In the message, Sir James writes: "There are now, however, disturbing signs on the horizon threatening the well being of your democracy that necessitates the emergence of a political leadership fully committed to uphold democratic principles."

Sir James Mancham states that Mauritius has a role to play in the restoration of democracy in Seychelles and he raises the problem in the context of regional cooperation, the Gulf war, and the new world order announced by the American president, Mr. George Bush. According to Sir James Mancham, regional cooperation should not serve to maintain a dictatorship in power in Seychelles.

As quoted in the newsflash of the JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY FOR SEYCHELLES, Sir James Mancham said: "Port Louis should not extend collaboration to a regime that survives through a policy of military fear and oppression."

Sir James Mancham raised two questions for which he seeks answers, according to the newspaper of Seychellois exiles. These questions are:

1. Given his long history of friendship with Mauritius and its people, why did the Mauritian Government think it advisable 18 months ago to ask him specifically to cancel a visit he was planning to make to Mauritius to join his brother who was vacationing there?

2. In view of the fact that the secretary general of the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement] was one of the first foreign political leaders to be received by the Rene government following the coup d'etat in 1977 and continues to maintain "fraternal" contacts with the "Seychelles dictator," will he care to explain to the Mauritian people the nature of his friendship with the Seychelles dictator and his views on the fact that more than 10 percent of the Seychelloises population have fled their country since the communist regime took over and established a one party dictatorship?"

Sir James Mancham cites the Mauritian press in support of his argument for the restoration of democracy in Seychelles.

#### \*Airlines Plan To Prepare for Europe 1993

91AF0727B Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
9 Feb 91 pp 1, 12

[Article by Leon Baya: "To Be Competitive in the New Configuration of the Air Transportation Sector"]

[Text] The liberalization of the EEC's air transportation policy in anticipation of the creation of a single market in 1993 will not only change the air transportation picture in Europe radically but will also affect European



relations and those of the countries outside the EEC. Mauritius and its national company will be no exception to the rule, and the proximity to Reunion—a French overseas department and a member of the Group of Twelve—will make the competition stiffer.

John Balfour, partner in a Brussels firm of legal advisers and specialists in the area of air transportation regulations, on Thursday addressed a symposium organized by Air Mauritius. In an interesting presentation, he explained to the officials of the Mauritian public and private sectors the new orientations of EEC policy and the effects of that policy on air transportation services both within and outside Europe.

It should be realized first of all that the member states of the EEC are legally bound to observe the regulations issued by that body, and every internal decision taken by a member state must conform to the EEC regulations. This is applicable to air transportation as well. According to Balfour, the EEC is proceeding cautiously in this area, in contrast to what occurred in the United States, where deregulation took place overnight.

One of the major changes scheduled to take place before the single market goes into effect in 1993 is direct negotiation for air traffic rights with the European Commission, which early last year produced a document to that effect in which it emphasized that such a step is "consistent" with the concept of a common market. The commission's proposal gave rise to much controversy in the member countries, which would not want to give up the rights that they currently enjoy. If the proposal is finally accepted, Balfour says, nonmember countries will be legally obligated to accept it as well. A sovereign state can refuse to negotiate directly with the commission, but if it does, it risks cancellation of previously concluded agreements covering air rights.

"I do not believe the commission will put the screws on either Mauritius or Madagascar, but it will have the power to do so," the European expert commented.

The pressure on Air Mauritius will be felt even more strongly if the regulations concerning "airline licensing" and "route access" are adopted. The number of European airlines serving the region could increase, and the presence of Reunion could further complicate the situation for Air Mauritius, because the French authorities would be unable to deny foreign airlines the right to serve Reunion. Air Mauritius will therefore have to be more competitive with respect to fares and services in order to withstand the assault of the European airlines. Balfour predicts that the projected changes concerning the regulations relating to "national control" of the European airlines will lead to the creation of four or five "super" airlines as a result of mergers, which will be inevitable as a consequence of the difficulties that the air transportation industry is experiencing. Moreover, it is expected that the commission will exercise less and less control over such mergers.

Although the advent of Europe 1993 will unquestionably give rise to increased competition in the area of air transportation, the EEC has in fact drawn up regulations to regulate that competition. Airlines are accordingly forbidden to conclude agreements that would be adversely affect competition, or to take unfair advantage of their "dominant positions." A decision by one airline to charge lower fares can be contested by another airline. An airline is allowed to offer "discount fares," however.

In the opinion of Vijay Poonoosamy, director of legal and international affairs for Air Mauritius, who chaired the symposium, it is difficult to predict what the European air transportation picture will be like in 1993. "The imminent integration of the European community," he told the approximately 50 participants in the conference, "has already caused all the African and Indian Ocean states to reassess their position and prepare together for the future. Effective and efficient regional cooperation is here seen as the key to survival." The participants in the symposium included bankers; officials of the office of the prime minister; the ministers of planning, finance, and foreign affairs; officials of the University of Mauritius; and members of the EEC delegation to Mauritius and the islands of the Indian Ocean.

The second part of the conference was devoted to the possibilities and techniques of financing aircraft purchases. The speaker was Don Bunker, president of "McGill University & Space Law Association" [as published in English] of Canada and head of the Aerospace Group of the Canadian firm Ogilvy Renault.

Bunker said that because the banks are in an increasingly difficult position, they will be very selective in granting credit, and added that this circumstance has given rise to problems for the airlines in respect to financing. "This in no way means that the industry is going to collapse," Bunker said. "In order to survive, the airlines will have to demonstrate greater efficiency in the area of management, and this in turn involves the elimination of unprofitable flights, a reduction in fleets, cuts in personnel, and judicious spending."

Bunker further stated that countries wishing to develop their air transport services will have to improve their financial credibility.

## Mozambique

### Party Structures in Military Abolished

MB1703190891 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Excerpt] The depoliticization of the Mozambique Armed Forces was a fait accompli at the Field Marshal Samora Machel Military School in Nampula Province today.



The ceremony was attended by cadets, noncommissioned officers, officers, and Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party militants. Presiding over the ceremony, Colonel Elias Germano, director of the military school, announced the abolition of all party structures established since 1978 by Frelimo which was described as the leading force of the society and the state. [passage omitted]

#### **Renamo Attacks Limpopo Corridor Train, 3 Killed**

*MB1703072191 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 0700 GMT 17 Mar 91*

[Text] Three people were killed and five seriously wounded when Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] attacked a train traveling from Maputo to Chokwe yesterday afternoon.

The attack occurred at 1300 [1100 GMT] at the 146-km marker, 18 km north of Magude Station. The station is part of the Limpopo corridor under the terms of the partial Rome accord.

The train did not derail and was able to reverse to Magude. It was carrying a rail maintenance crew.

### **Reunion**

#### **Violent Demonstrations During Rocard Visit**

*AB1703220091 Paris AFP in English 1548 GMT  
17 Mar 91*

[Text] Saint Denis, Reunion, March 17 (AFP)—Violence on Sunday marred a snap visit by [French] Prime Minister Michel Rocard to the French overseas

department of Reunion, as demonstrators ransacked shops, eyewitnesses reported.

Demonstrators earlier attended a rally in support of the pirate television station Tele Free DOM which was seized by the police last month triggering violence in which 11 people died and shops were pillaged and burned down.

On Sunday protestors ransacked a travel agency and smashed the window of a motor bike shop. Police cordoned off police headquarters to stop demonstrators from getting near the building where Mr. Rocard was holding talks with local leaders.

Up to 500 demonstrators blocked the road between the airport and the island capital when Mr. Rocard [words indistinct] forcing the prime minister to take a deviation. Mr Rocard was to leave the Indian Ocean island late Sunday.

#### **Disrupt Schedule**

*LD1703154991 Paris Domestic Service  
in French 1500 GMT 17 Mar 91*

[Text] Incidents took place just now in Reunion, at Saint Denis. Demonstrators organized a picnic to support Tele-Freedom [a pirate television station]. They ransacked a travel agency and smashed a motorbike shop. They attempted to approach the prefecture where Michel Rocard is holding meetings. The prime minister is due to leave the island at about 1830.

[At 1000 GMT, Paris Domestic Service in French notes that "between 400 and 500 demonstrators and supporters of Tele-Freedom are blocking the roads from the airport that leads from Gillot to St Denis. The prime minister had to change his route to avoid the demonstration."]

## Mali

### 'Over 100,000' March To Commemorate Student

AB1703222891 Paris AFP in French 1538 GMT  
17 Mar 91

[Text] Bamako, 17 Mar (AFP)—Several tens of thousands of demonstrators today answered the call of the Association of Pupils and Students of Mali (AEEM), which organized a march to celebrate the 11th anniversary of the death of student leader Abdoul Karim Camara, popularly called "Cabral", who died under torture on 17 March 1980. "Cabral" was the secretary general of the National Union of Pupils and Students of Mali (UNEEM), which was dissolved in 1980 following disturbances in schools during the 1979-1980 academic year.

On the occasion of this "National Day of Martyrs", two associations that have been agitating for the establishment of multiparty politics—the National Committee for a Democratic Initiative (CNID) and the Alliance for Democracy in Mali (Adema)—joined the AEEM for this demonstration. A photo exhibition of students who have been victims of violent repressions since 1980, a poetry recital, and testimonies on the life and death of "Cabral" were also held yesterday to mark the occasion at the National Advanced Teacher Training College, ENS, (where "Cabral" was a student).

Throughout the morning, young people, who the organizers said numbered over 100,000, turned up for this "funeral march." The relatively well-organized and disciplined demonstration were not stopped by law-enforcement agencies, who were not at the scene.

The AEEM, created in October 1990 and which professes to be an offspring of the UNEEM, demonstrated its great capacity for mobilization of youth today. After the march, in which the mother of "Cabral" took part, AEEM Secretary General Oumar Mariko paid tribute to "comrades who have been wounded or have disappeared." He then cited the names of about ten Malians, mostly high school and university students, who, according to him, have recently died from police bullets during demonstrations or following ill-treatment and torture by the security forces.

In a joint statement, AEEM, ADEMA, and CNID paid tribute to all victims of state violence. The three associations reiterated their call for "an independent commission of inquiry to probe crimes committed against citizens, so that nobody will kill with impunity in our country any longer." They renewed their call "for a sovereign national conference bringing together all political leanings of the country, both inside and abroad, that could guarantee a genuine break from the past and establish the rule of law."

### Exiled Group Calls for Multiparty System

AB1503191291 Paris AFP in French 1024 GMT  
15 Mar 91

[Text] Libreville, 15 Mar (AFP)—The Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP-Mali), a Malian opposition party based in Gabon, has issued a communique today in Libreville proposing the "immediate" proclamation of a multiparty system in Mali.

The communique, which is signed by Professor Cissoko Seneke Mody, secretary general, contends that the single ruling party, the Democratic Union of Malian People, "has lost its popular legitimacy" and that its upcoming congress scheduled for 28 March in Bamako "cannot alone decide the fate of the Malian people." The single party, the RDP-Mali continues, "propped up by the Armed Forces and violence, now represents only a fraction of the people", who "have reservations about the results of its congress and reject in advance any form of imitative democracy" upon which it may be asked to decide.

In conclusion, the communique states that "in order to restore peace and national concord, the RDP-Mali proposes the immediate proclamation of a multiparty system by the National Assembly and the organization of a national conference, the only credible platform for debating the building of a genuine democracy in Mali and the country's future problems."

The RDP-Mali was formed in November last year by a group of Malian exiles living in Gabon and is led by Prof. Cissoko Seneke Mody, a teacher at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Libreville.

### Fasting Period Begins, Entertainment Banned

AB1803123291 Bamako Domestic Service  
in French 2030 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Excerpt] As is usual at the beginning of each year's fasting period, the minister of interior and grass roots development hereby recalls the following measures: bars and nightclubs are to remain closed; parties, concerts, as well as any public gatherings, except sporting events, are banned. The inspector general of police, the chief of staff of the Gendarmerie, and regional governors should see to the proper and strict implementation of these measures. Members of the Democratic Union of Malian People sections are kindly requested to help implement these measures. [passage omitted]

## Niger

### Further Reportage on MNSD Party Congress

#### Saibou Intervenes To Stop Vote

AB1503203091 London BBC World Service  
in English 1709 GMT 15 Mar 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Niger's ruling MNSD [National Movement for Development Society] party has been holding an extraordinary congress all week designed to turn it into a proper

political party that can compete for power in a future democratic Niger. But the congress' proceedings have been deadlocked all week over the question of the party leadership. Three candidates are after the job, including present party leader and head of state Ali Saibou, and delegates were expected to make their decision today. But now there has been a dramatic development in the leadership race, as Moussa Kaka reports in this telex from Niamey:

[Begin announcer recording] The conference was thrown into uproar this morning when President Ali Saibou announced that he was not going to allow a vote to go ahead for a party leader. He said that the congress could elect the party secretary general and the Politburo and Central Committee.

It is, however, far from clear whether the party itself will survive this morning's events. Many of the 900 delegates feel that the MNSD is now finished and they are likely to return home and join one of the 15 opposition parties already formed.

The president's intervention followed a secret straw poll taken among the eight regional leaders of the party. The polls suggested four were backing former minister of the interior Colonel Tandji Mamadou; two were backing Niger's ambassador in Washington, Colonel Moumouni Adamou Djermakoye; and two were planning to abstain. Thus no one at all was supporting President Saibou. [end recording]

#### **Procedures, Commission Established**

*AB1603081091 Niamey Domestic Service  
in French 1900 GMT 15 Mar 91*

[Text] The National Movement for the Development Society [MNSD] Congress continues at the Congress Hall in Niamey. This afternoon, after discussing the procedures for the election of the members of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, the participants set up a commission for recording candidacies. The elections will be held and all deliberations ended tomorrow morning.

#### **To End 'This Afternoon'**

*AB1603133491 Niamey Domestic Service  
in French 1200 GMT 16 Mar 91*

[Text] The deliberations of the extraordinary congress of the National Movement for the Development Society will end this afternoon at the Niamey Congress Hall. This morning, the delegates nominated their representatives to the party's Central Committee in readiness for the elections which will take place this afternoon as of 1530 [1430 GMT].

#### **Saibou To Continue as Leader**

*AB1603215091 London BBC World Service  
in English 1709 GMT 16 Mar 91*

[Text] In Niger, the two candidates seeking the leadership of the ruling National Movement of the Development Society [MNSD], Colonel Tanju Mamoudou and

Colonel Djermakoye Adamou, have agreed to withdraw from the contest for the moment. They have reached an agreement to allow President Ali Saibou to continue leading the party until after its extraordinary congress taking place in Niamey.

#### **'Final Phase' 16 Mar**

*AB1603214591 Niamey Domestic Service  
in French 1900 GMT 16 Mar 91*

[Text] The extraordinary congress of the National Movement for the Development Society [MNSD] reached its final phase this evening—in other words, the election of members of the movement's Political Bureau. The congress participants are at this very moment electing the party's secretary general. In the race for this post are Messrs. (Memegra) and (Kadalago).

The Political Bureau will have a membership of 26, including the secretary general. The elections have only just begun and will last the night. The members of the Central Committee are already known. They number 250 in all. It should be noted that the session is being chaired by General Ali Saibou, head of state and chairman of the party.

#### **Elections Suspended Until 17 Mar**

*AB1603215891 Niamey Domestic Service  
in French 1900 GMT 16 Mar 91*

[Text] The proceedings of the congress of the National Movement of the Development Society [MNSD] have just been suspended for organizational reasons. The elections have been put off until 0800 local time [0700 GMT] tomorrow morning.

#### **New Secretary General Elected**

*AB1703214991 Niamey Domestic Service  
in French 1900 GMT 17 Mar 91*

[Text] The extraordinary congress of the National Movement of the Development Society [MNSD]—The election of members of the party's Political Bureau is continuing at the Niamey Congress Palace. This morning, Mr. (Kada Labo) was elected secretary general. Later on in the morning, Mr. (Assoumane Adamou) was elected assistant secretary general with 475 votes, compared with 153 won by Mr. (Ahama Amadou). The post of coordinating secretary went to Mr. (Azounai Assini) with 384 votes. He beat (Amadou Tete Maiga), who received 214 votes. The assistant coordinating secretary is Mr. (Adoum Albade), who, with 193 votes, topped three other candidates. The post of economic affairs secretary



went to Mr. (Aliou Mahmidou), who, with 357 votes, beat Mr. (Moussa Sale), who scored 269 votes.

The congress participants are now in the process of electing a candidate to the post of assistant secretary for social affairs. They will have to choose between Mr. (Anissa Fassou Maiga), Dr. (Nikonta Bigi Latini), and (Amadou Nayai).

## Togo

### Further on Student Clashes, Protests in Lome

#### Classes Suspended, 12 'Missing'

AB1503152491 Paris AFP in French 1302 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Lome, 15 Mar (AFP)—The minister of education today suspended classes in Lome schools that were affected yesterday by an opposition movement against President Eyadema's regime, it was learned from official sources. No clashes were observed as of late this morning. The high schools were deserted this morning, AFP journalists observed. The students said that their headmasters had asked them to go home.

This decision comes following yesterday's student demonstrations in the streets and near the schools, which led to the intervention of the Army. According to the Togolese Human Rights League (LTDH, independent), nine persons were injured and 15 others held in custody after violence at the university on Wednesday and clashes between soldiers and high school students yesterday. Twelve students were believed today to be "missing" by the LTDH because their whereabouts have not been known since Wednesday.

#### Demonstrators Confront Soldiers

AB1503160291 Paris AFP in French 1507 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Lome, 15 Mar (AFP)—The situation suddenly became tense early this afternoon in Lome, where thousands of demonstrators were confronted by soldiers and gendarmes in the downtown area, AFP journalists noted.

The tension started when the security forces intervened with nightsticks against an unexpected demonstration of several thousand women. These women had gathered outside the United States Embassy and then the French Embassy to demand the release of the young people picked up for interrogation or reported missing following the student demonstrations of yesterday and the day before.

Thousands of other people then gathered in the downtown area, and many soldiers and gendarmes were positioned on the circular boulevard, where the ministries, embassies, and business district are located. The demonstrators, obviously indignant with the treatment meted out to the women, shouted: "They are beating the

women!" and: "Multipartyism!" before finally moving on to the head of state: "Eyadema, resign!"

A fighter plane and military helicopter overflew the city many times at a low altitude shortly after 1400 GMT.

### 16 Mar Demonstrations Banned

AB1503163691 Lome Domestic Service in French 1600 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Government communique issued in Lome on 15 March]

[Text] Yaovi Agboyibor has announced that he has just set up a Front of Associations for Renewal, a movement which, he declares, is opposed to the regime in power and invites the people to support the student demonstrations by going into the streets tomorrow, Saturday, 16 March 1991.

This morning, the minister of interior and security called in Mr. Agboyibor and informed him of the illegal nature of the movement of which he claims chairmanship. Consequently, the minister informed Mr. Agboyibor that it is strictly forbidden to organize any form of public demonstration. In order not to disturb public order, peace, and security, the minister of interior and security invites students and the inhabitants of Lome to avoid participating in this unauthorized march. In case of any breach, the brains behind these banned demonstrations and their organizers will be sanctioned according to the law.

### Government Issues Communique

AB1503205291 Lome Domestic Service in French 1900 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Government communique issued in Lome on 15 March]

[Text] Today, a number of small groups of women joined by curious onlookers demonstrated in the streets of the capital for their student children who, according to rumors, were allegedly killed during the strike action on the university campus in Lome-Tokoin University campus and the Lome Technical High School on Wednesday, 13 March 1991. These rumors are only disinformation orchestrated by a group of lawyers who are seeking by all means to agitate the people against the government, for these 32 students, who were rendered harmless by their classmates while they were perpetrating acts of violence on the campus, have been handed over to university authorities.

After listening to and noting the students' accounts, the university authorities called on them to resume their normal activities. As of today, no university or high school students are being detained, and there have not been any deaths to mourn.

The minister of the interior and security calls on students and the people of Lome to avoid participating in any unauthorized marches in order not to disturb public

order, peace and security. Instigators and organizers of any prohibited demonstrations will be dealt with according to law.

### Official Appeals to Students

AB1503222091 Lome Domestic Service  
in French 1900 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Statement by Dago Bayebe, Central Committee member, delegate general of the Youth of the Rally of the Togolese People, JRPT, on 15 May—recorded]

[Text] Togolese youth: In view of the seriousness and persistence of the wave of disturbances provoked for some time now in our capital and in some towns of the interior of the country by a group of students and individuals, I address this message to you. Since Tuesday, 12 March 1991, agitators of all kinds have been trying to impose on students and pupils a boycott of classes. This strike call has failed to convince people, so the group, which claims to consist of democrats, has paradoxically resorted to use of threats, intimidation, and vandalism to get people to adhere to their cause.

Fortunately, they were repelled by the students, who wanted to pursue their classes on 13 March 1991 on the campus. After this failure, they spread their strike action to other educational establishments, despite the government's call to order. On this occasion, I would like to congratulate you on the spirit of maturity and responsibility of the youth who managed to reject this provocation and preferred to continue with their classes. Faced with this new failure, the agitators decided to come out of their dens and adopt a new strategy in order to draw the youth, at the price of demagoguery and lies, into a perilous adventure.

It is to this intent that they are reportedly proposing to organize a demonstration tomorrow, 16 March, on Boulevard Johnson in our capital. The repetition and seriousness of this provocative strike disrupts the calm of our hard-working population and goes against our tradition of union, peace, and solidarity, a tradition which to our eyes constitutes a sure path toward the advent of multiparty democracy in our country.

In view of this situation, I would like to stress the following: First, the various demands formulated in the document distributed by the protest groups have their answer in the liberalization program, which was announced by the top leadership organs of our country. The major phases of this program are being carried out, notably, with the elaboration of the proposed draft constitution. Second, the Togolese youth, whose political convictions are deep-rooted, must, through constant vigilance, dissociate the aspirations of these striking groups and associations from their own interests and preoccupations, which are nonetheless taken into consideration by the party and government.

Consequently, I appeal to the conscience of Togolese youth to turn their backs to the amalgam of provocations, whatever their origin, and to mobilize all their energies and intellectual and civic capabilities for the construction of a more united, peaceful, and prosperous Togo. In order to achieve this, I call on them to resume classes in total peace since security measures have been reinforced. Young Togolese, Togo's future is calling on us. Let us assemble to build our fatherland in love, fraternity, tolerance, and mutual understanding. Long live Togo!

### Students To Defy March Ban

AB1503220091 Paris AFP in French 2053 GMT  
15 Mar 91

[Text] Lome, 15 Mar (AFP)—The Collective of Student Movements Struggling for Democracy has decided to maintain its "peaceful march" planned for tomorrow morning in Lome despite the government ban, it was learned today from sources close to this group. Furthermore, the Front of Associations for Renewal, FAR, which was created last night, maintains its support for this demonstration, Yaovi Agboyibor, its chairman, has indicated. The FAR includes ten associations calling for rapid democratization.

Many Togolese this evening feared a showdown between President Gnassingbe Eyadema's regime, in power for 24 years, and the opposition. The unprecedented protest movement started at the university on Tuesday, 11 March, and spread yesterday to high schools. Today, some 2,000 women took to the streets.

Throughout this afternoon, radio and then television broadcast communiqués issued by the authorities calling on Togolese not to take part in the march. A communiqué from the minister of interior has accused the FAR lawyers of "seeking to agitate the people against the government."

The minister of education announced on television that the academic break is to begin eight days earlier than scheduled and that the spring term therefore ended today, with, moreover, no classes held.

A precarious calm prevailed in Lome this evening. Hundreds of soldiers were deployed today following the women's demonstrations that were supported by thousands of Lome inhabitants.

### Students Talk about the Disturbances

AB1603100891 Lome Domestic Service  
in French 0615 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Excerpts] To find a solution to the current crisis through dialogue seems to be too slow for some people. For others, it even seems that it is the way of the weak. This is not the case and it has been proved that anger and violence are the weapons of the weak and can only generate trouble with uncontrollable consequences. Since Tuesday, a group of students from the University of

Benin have been boycotting the classes and even disturbing the classes in secondary schools. This group of students went and forced secondary school students from their classes using clubs, stones and bicycle chains. Some of these students were sitting for their term exams. They were forced to evacuate their classes for fear of being molested by their fellow students. Let us listen to one of the students talking about the way they have been manhandled by university students:

[Begin unidentified student recording] Yesterday, university students came to our school to distribute tracts and when we read the pamphlets, they were calling on us not to attend classes today because of a strike they were staging today and when the day came, we were afraid to go to school and went back home.[end recording]

Therefore, fear was instilled into the minds of the high school students and suspicion prevailed between them and those they use to call their elders from the university. Are these elders proud of this situation?

Let us listen to the secretary general of the students association of the University of Benin, Mr. (Bojona Abousoumel):

[Begin (Abousoumel) recording] We believe that the problems facing the students are real and it is through dialogue and negotiations that we should solve them. Even if some comrades are against our policy, we should always be able to sit at the same table and discuss. Some were reluctant and I believe that we should discuss as intelligent people, and despite our divergence of views, we can always find suitable solutions.[passage omitted] [end recording]

### Army Disperses Thousands

AB1603082491 Paris AFP in French 0759 GMT  
16 Mar 91

[Text] Lome, 16 Mar (AFP)—The Army intervened in Lome at about 0630 GMT to disperse with batons several thousand people who had begun to gather in order to participate in a demonstration prohibited by the government, AFP journalists observed.

Military trucks and jeeps blocked access to Liberation Square in downtown Lome where the demonstration was to take place. Thousands of inhabitants gathered in the streets of the area where tension was very high at about 0700 GMT.

### Demonstrators Face Troops

AB1603112091 Paris AFP in French 1051 GMT  
16 Mar 91

[Text] Lome, 16 Mar (AFP)—Many demonstrators today faced Togolese soldiers in mid-morning at Be, a working class residential area in Lome, where AFP journalists saw thick smoke, probably caused by burning tires. The soldiers also cordoned off downtown Lome

which was virtually deserted at about 1000 GMT following an attempted demonstration despite the government's prohibition. There was thick smoke there too. Most shops are closed.

Trucks of the fire service and ambulances were passing through the principal streets of the Togolese capital, but no casualties have been officially announced.

### At Least 4 Injured in Clashes

AB1603140491 Paris AFP in French 1311 GMT  
16 Mar 91

[Text] Lome, 16 Mar (AFP)—Four youths were injured this morning in confrontations with soldiers in Be, a working class district in Lome, AFP reporters noted in a clinic. There have been no official figures. The tension had eased a little by the end of the morning in the various districts of the Togolese capital where thousands of people came up against hundreds of soldiers, gendarmes, and policemen, generally armed with batons.

Early this morning, the French Embassy had alerted its 4,000 nationals, urging them not to leave their homes, but noting that the troubles were not directed at them, according to good sources.

### Boy Found Dead; Circumstances Unclear

AB1603144491 Paris AFP in French 1411 GMT  
16 Mar 91

[Text] A boy about 12 was killed this morning in Lome in circumstances that still remain unclear, at the very beginning of a banned demonstration, it has been learned from various sources. Togolese Television today showed the body of a boy who died "accidentally" around 0700 GMT and "was discovered" shortly after in the city center. It was "covered with sand," which, according to the official commentator, allows "the supposition that the body had been moved."

The lower part of the body showed lesions, the forensic pathologists observed, and concluded from that that it was an "accidental death." There were persistent rumors this morning about the death of a small boy in the ward where this body was found, and several witnesses had told AFP that the child had been crushed by a jeep at the beginning of an unauthorized demonstration.

### Policeman Killed, 5 Soldiers Wounded

AB1603163691 Paris AFP in French 1620 GMT  
16 Mar 91

[Text] Lome, 16 Mar (AFP)—A Togolese policeman was killed and five soldiers injured this morning during riots in Lome, it was learned from official sources.

The streets of the capital were almost deserted at 1600 GMT except for many visibly nervous soldiers and gendarmes, helmeted and carrying tear-gas grenade-launchers, according to AFP correspondents.



### More on Lome Riots

AB1603190291 Paris AFP in English 1837 GMT  
16 Mar 91

[By Alain Bommenel]

[Excerpts] Lome, March 16 (AFP)—Demonstrators fought police and troops in Togo's capital on Saturday, leaving at least one dead and nine injured in a fourth day of pro-democracy protests initially sparked by students, officials and correspondents said.

Rioters stabbed a policeman to death in an attack on a police post in the Be working-class district and injured five soldiers by stoning them, officials said, without giving details.

A child was also killed in circumstances that remained unclear. His body was shown during the day on state television, which said an autopsy had concluded that his death was "accidental". Officials later said that police were looking for a driver who had knocked the child down, but witnesses had earlier told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESS that a boy was hit by a jeep when security forces deployed to stop a protest march. The official television commentary said the body had been discovered in the city centre "covered in sand", which indicated that it may have been moved from elsewhere.

At a clinic in Be earlier Saturday, correspondents saw four youths who were receiving treatment for slight injuries sustained in clashes with troops during the morning. Early in the day, hundreds of soldiers and police used truncheons to disperse several thousand people who turned out in defiance of a government ban to call for a multi-party system in the small West African country. Many women and youths, some wearing masks over their faces, shouted slogans against the military regime of President Gnassingbe Eyadema before scattering to various parts of the city as the security forces cracked down.

Residents of the Be district erected barricades and piled up burning tyres. By 4:00 P.m. (1600 GMT), the streets were largely deserted by all but clearly nervous troops, some with teargas. Torn-off branches littered the streets and telephone boxes had been smashed.

For most of the day, there was no official assessment of the violence, but reporters saw ambulances and fire brigade vehicles in the main streets. Many shops remained closed and the French Embassy told its 4,000 nationals here that they would do better to stay at home.

The first clashes came as people tried to enter the capital's central Freedom Square, where the rally was to begin. Military vehicles barred access to the square as an army helicopter hovered overhead. [passage omitted]

Officials also said Saturday that the border with Ghana had been closed to stop people joining rioters here, but did not say what nationality they might be. Journalists

heard shots across the nearby border, without being able to tell whether or not they were being fired in the air.

The independent Togolese League of Human Rights (LTDH) says that nine people were injured up to Friday, 15 were still in detention and 12 students had disappeared without trace since Wednesday. The Education Ministry on Friday closed down affected establishments and denied that any schoolchildren were being held, but officials also said some 30 trouble-making "elements" had been overcome.

Saturday's scheduled march was also backed by the LTDH and five other groups which late Thursday joined the student movements in a new opposition Front of Associations for Renewal (FAR). [passage omitted]

### New Demonstration Called for 18 Mar

AB1703084091 Paris AFP in French 2022 GMT  
16 Mar 91

[Text] Lome, 16 Mar (AFP)—The entire Togolese student movement, which has been fighting for democracy, has called for a new demonstration on 18 March following their first abortive attempt today which was dispersed by the army and which has led to riots in several areas of Lome. In a communique presented to AFP, the group protested "the atrocities committed by the government" showing that President Eyadema's regime "is decided to go as far as to the end of the bloody authoritarianism."

The group is made up of four recently created student organizations which are not recognized by the government. For its demonstrations today, the group had received the support of the Front of Associations for Renewal (FAR), another organization which has not been recognized and which has not made its position on Monday known.

Lome experienced a riotous morning on Saturday after the army had dispersed the demonstration which had been banned by the government. A policeman was killed, according to the authorities while a boy about 12 was knocked down by a military jeep, according to witnesses. The clashes also left several people injured, including five soldiers, and much damage.

### 48-Hour General Strike Called For

AB1703114891 Paris AFP in French 1139 GMT  
17 Mar 91

[Text] Lome, 17 Mar (AFP)—The Front of Associations for Renewal (FAR, opposition) today called for a 48-hour general strike in Togo beginning Wednesday, 20 March. In a communique to AFP, FAR calls, among other things, for the immediate resignation of General Yao Amegie, the Interior and Security minister.

The dispersal yesterday of a banned demonstration resulted in rioting which left two dead and several injured.

**Interior Minister on Infiltrators**

AB1703144891 Paris AFP in French 1357 GMT  
17 Mar 91

[Text] Lome. 17 Mar (AFP)—General Yao Mawulikplimi Amegi, minister of interior, today stated that a "an estimated 500-600 men, probably armed," entered Togo to "infiltrate" the people who demonstrated yesterday in the streets of Lome. A communique broadcast by radio and television specifies that Ghanaian soldiers "had to shoot in the air to repulse other Ghanaians" who tried to infiltrate through the border which lies adjacent to Lome. "The presence of these foreigners... gives a new dimension to events," according to the communique.

"Violence calls for violence and patience has limits," the communique warns, stressing the "nonviolence" that the security forces "had displayed up until now." "Any unauthorized street demonstrations will be rigorously repressed," the communique concluded.

The union of independent student organizations called for fresh demonstrations on 18 March, and the Front of Associations for Renewal (FAR) called for a 48-hour general strike beginning Wednesday [20 March]. Riots broke out Saturday morning in Lome after the army had dispersed a march banned by the government. A boy was run over by a military jeep and killed, according to eyewitness, and a policeman was killed by the demonstrators, according to official sources.

Some Lome districts lay along the Ghanaian border and many families have relatives on each side of this border which, since World War II, has separated the British and French parts of the former German colony.

**FAR Leader's Home Ransacked, Burned**

AB1703173091 Paris AFP in English 1728 GMT  
17 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Lome, March 17 (AFP)—The Togolese opposition called Sunday for a two-day general strike from Wednesday, stepping up pressure on the authoritarian regime of General Gnassingbe Eyadema following student-led unrest during which two people were killed and scores arrested.

The Front of Associations for Reform (FAR) formed Friday by 10 opposition movements, called for the resignation of Interior and Security Minister Yao Mawulikplimi Ameyi following riots which erupted when police broke up a banned demonstration on Saturday.

The FAR also protested in strong terms at an attack Saturday on the Lome home of its leader Yawo Agboyibo. Journalists who went Sunday to Mr. Agboyibo's comfortable villa found it had been completely ransacked and partly burned. Witnesses said it had been raided by several dozen men armed with pangas. Mr. Agboyibo a lawyer, was absent when the attackers struck, having moved to a safer place, a precaution also taken by several other prominent opposition figures.

The authorities have accused lawyers, many of whom are in the opposition, of "whipping up public hostility toward the government."

The capital was quiet Sunday for the first time since Wednesday and security forces were keeping a low profile. However signs of the clashes which pitted demonstrators against police for much of Saturday were clearly visible particularly at Be, a working class neighbourhood where rioters set fire to two police stations and several vehicles. "Down with Eyadema" slogans and others proclaiming support for Mr. Agboyibo were daubed all over the walls.

At Adjoviakope near the Ghanaian border, a tax office was attacked and ransacked. Files lay strewn around the street near the burnt-out shells of two cars. [passage omitted]

**More on Death of Child**

AB1703122691 Lome Domestic Service  
in French 1900 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Summary From Poor Reception] "The body of a young boy was found this morning on 24 January Avenue. Professor Kodjro, the forensic pathologist, explains:"

[Begin recording] [Kodjro] "The child is about 12 and he is well built." He has injuries, especially on the buttocks. In the anal region, the whole area has been crushed, including the muscles, and everything has disappeared. Only the area around the anus can be seen. "The testicles and surrounding muscles have been completely crushed." The left leg has been fractured at the tail bone, with the leg turned under. In the back, the injuries are the same type as those at the front of the left buttock. So, the most serious injury is the tail bone and the tearing of the muscles and important organs there.

[Reporter] "Have you been able to determine the cause of death yet?"

[Kodjro] "With the crushing of such important organs we can say that it is probable that a heavy object went over him."

[Reporter] "This is not a natural death since we see evidence of crushing."

[Kodjro] "You see, this is an accidental death." The exact cause of this accident, however, is difficult to establish since the body was handled and disturbed before arriving at the mortuary. It would have been better to see it at the site and study the site." [end recording]

**Government Communique on Protests**

AB1703201091 Lome Domestic Service  
in French 1900 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Government communique issued in Lome; date not given]

[Text] On 16 March some street demonstrations took place in a few districts of our capital leading to the death

of a young boy and a policeman and some property was destroyed. The boy, according to doctors, was a victim of a traffic accident. As for the policeman, he was stabbed by demonstrators at the District 3 Police Station.

It was in anticipation of such disorder, disturbances, and destruction that the demonstrations were banned. The organizers insisted, however, on bringing into the streets uncontrolled elements, who caused vandalism, arson, and deaths.

Concerning the security of the population, the minister of interior and security wishes to inform everybody that during the 16 March demonstrations the barbed wire separating Ghanaian and Togolese territory was cut at the Aflao border, thus allowing a group of men, probably armed and estimated at about 500 to 600, to enter Togo and infiltrate the demonstrators. Thanks to the good cooperation between our two countries, the Ghanaian soldiers at the Aflao border warned the Togolese security forces and fired warning shots in the air to repulse other Ghanaians who wanted to infiltrate into Togo.

The presence of such foreigners on our territory at this time when certain people want to create troubles in our country imparts a new dimension to the events. The situation demands that every citizen be vigilant and avoid becoming involved in any street demonstrations, the development and outcome of which cannot be foreseen by anybody. Violence calls for violence and patience has its limits. The nonviolence displayed by the security forces until now is not a sign of weakness. Therefore, the minister of interior and security wants to remind the public that for the security of each and everyone, all unauthorized street demonstrations will be rigorously quelled.

#### **FAR Leader Urges March Suspension**

*AB1803093091 Paris AFP in English 0453 GMT  
18 Mar 91*

[Text] Lome, March 18 (AFP)—The head of a newly-formed Togolese opposition front said on Sunday he had met with President Gnassingbe Eyadema the day after violent anti-government protests which left two dead. Yawo Agboyibo, president of the Front of Associations for Renewal (FAR), told journalists he had a meeting with the president Sunday morning and that further talks between General Eyadema and FAR representatives

were scheduled for Monday. He called on students to suspend a protest march planned for Monday.

The new umbrella group, representing ten opposition groups, was formed Friday [15 March] following days of unrest in the Togolese capital Lome. Mr. Agboyibo also accused the "military or agents of the government" for ransacking and setting fire to his home on Saturday [16 March].

Two people died Saturday during clashes between students and security forces following a protest, which the government had declared illegal.

Togolese authorities on Sunday warned that further unauthorized protests would be firmly put down.

The opposition on Sunday had called for a two-day general strike to begin on Wednesday to step up pressure against the regime of Gen. Eyadema.

#### **Opposition, Eyadema Meet**

*AB1803120691 Paris AFP in French 1018 GMT  
18 Mar 91*

[Text] Lome, 18 Mar (AFP)—The leaders of the 10 Togolese opposition movements were received this morning by President Gnassingbe Eyadema, according to a reliable source. Student associations were among the organizations received by the head of state. The students, who planned late last week to stage a march today, finally called off the march, and traders opened their shops after a moment of hesitation.

Observers note that this is the first time President Eyadema has received all the opposition leaders together after holding talks yesterday with the best known of them, Yawo Agboyibo. Soon after the audience at the presidency, Mr. Agboyibo called on the student association to call off the march scheduled for this morning.

Before leaving the Human Rights League's headquarters for the presidency, the opposition leaders said they would present a list of grievances including: the convening of a national conference on the country's future; the granting of general amnesty; and the authorization of political parties.

After fearing fresh demonstrations similar to those that resulted in two dead on Saturday, 16 March, traders in downtown Lome opened their shops by 0900. Dozens of soldiers, some carrying automatic weapons, patrolled the major roads.



**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

19 March 1991

